

IN THESE TIMES



RAIDERS!
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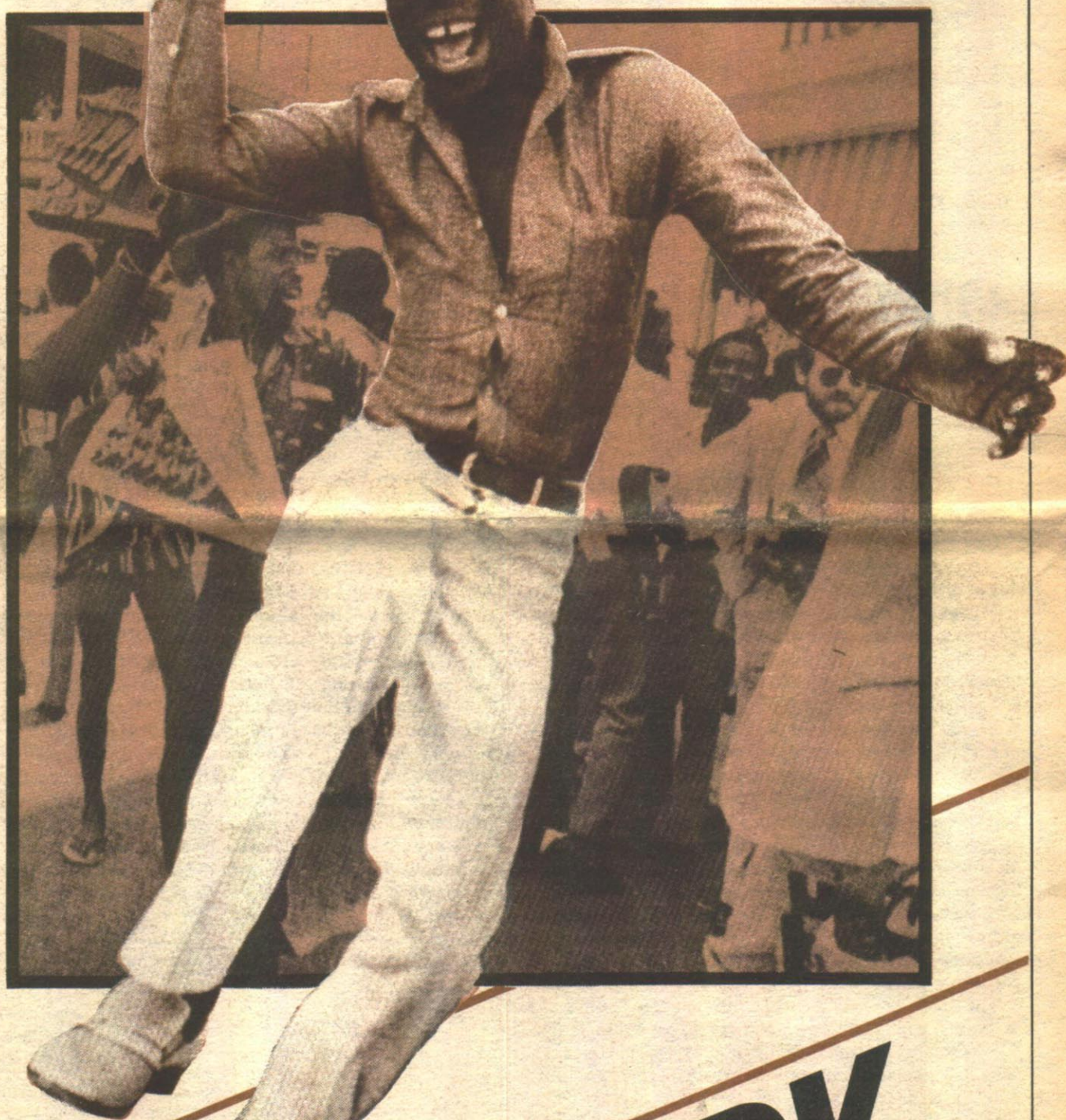
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THE INSIDE STORY

Robert Young



Steelworkers' attorney Staughton Lynd.

Ohio Steelworkers lose court fight

By David Moberg

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Last Nov. 27 Frank Georges had a day off from work at the Ohio Works of U.S. Steel. "I spent most of the day at the bank in Beaver Falls," he said recently before U.S. Circuit Court Judge Thomas Lambros. "I was on my way home to get my wife for a 5 p.m. appointment. At 4:45 I came to a railroad crossing and had to stop. I turned on the radio." That's when he discovered that U.S. Steel was going to shut down his mill.

"I felt like someone pulled a rug out from underneath me. I got angry, thinking about how Mr. [David] Roderick [chairman of the board of U.S. Steel] had promised the mill wouldn't close." Georges had special reasons to be angry with the broken promise: he'd spent that day at the bank closing a mortgage on a new \$56,000 house that was closer to work and big enough to allow his wife's ailing parents to live with them. Now what would he do—especially since he didn't want to leave friends and family behind? Did Roderick owe Georges anything for going back on the corporate word?

The steel industry has had its troubles. Some old mills such as the roughly 3,600-employee Youngstown Works (incorporating the Ohio and McDonald Works), with its impressive but antique steam engines and outdated open hearths, have been closing. U.S. Steel came close to closing the mill in 1977, but it responded to local management's appeal to give the operation another try.

Local union officials and members of the union had understood that if the mill became profitable and stayed that way, it would not close. So Georges checked the "hotline" telephone messages for workers once a week. "Everything I heard on it seemed like the plant was profitable and that it would stay open," he testified. He'd heard the same message from Roderick, from the local plant superintendent and from various company official statements in the local newspaper or on television.

Even in early November, Frederick Foote, a public spokesman for U.S. Steel, told a Youngstown public forum, citing Roderick, that the Youngstown Works was an integral part of U.S. Steel operations and as long as it remained profitable, it would continue to operate. "We have said all along that the plant has been profitable," Foote added.

Foote's remarks were part of a consistent pattern of promises and reports. Yet as he spoke the corporation was deciding to close the mill along with 13 other facilities. Even the plant superintendent did not know yet, although the top officials of the international union

were told in late October or early November.

In a novel effort to fight such precipitous plant closings, the local steelworkers and their supporters, originally including their representative in Congress, sued U.S. Steel for breach of contract. When the steelworkers, primarily represented by Staughton Lynd and a team of legal aid lawyers, won a preliminary injunction, the judge's sympathetic comments raised hopes that the court would rule in their favor. After all, the judge suggested that the legal thinking of the past may not be appropriate to the current economic crisis.

"It seems to me," Lambros said, "that a property right has arisen from this lengthy, long-established relationship between United States Steel, the steel industry as an institution, the community in Youngstown, the people in Mahoning County and the Mahoning Valley in having given and devoted their lives to this industry. Perhaps not a property right to the extent that can be remedied by compelling U.S. Steel to remain in Youngstown.... But I think the law can recognize the property right to the extent that U.S. Steel cannot leave that Mahoning Valley and the Youngstown area in a state of waste, that it cannot completely abandon its obligation to that community, because certain vested rights have arisen out of this long relationship and institution."

In an imaginative, well-researched effort, the legal team headed by Lynd tried to give substance to that community claim on U.S. Steel, focusing particularly on the verbal contract that had developed since the middle of 1977. The steelworkers and their union relied on that series of promises, making concessions and taking actions that in the end worked to their detriment. As Bob Vasquez, new president of local 1330, and others testified, the workers submitted to "goofy" schedules, passed up legitimate claims to overtime premium pay, modified seniority agreements and layoff procedures, did not press contractual rights to canteen improvements or to replacement of old wooden beams, consolidated machine shops and other work groups, and even offered to forego incentive pay worth about \$6 million a year (which the company refused to accept).

Company officers agreed that the union had been most cooperative, but they claimed that those actions did not constitute the workers' side of the verbal contract. The hotline messages and other corporate statements were, they said, simply words of encouragement, a dose of "positive reinforcement, much as one offers a child trying to do better in school."

Both sides also agreed that after 1977, when local management changed and the union took an active roll in saving the mill, the financial condition of the Youngstown Works improved dramatically. The mill lost \$8,045,000 on its own fixed expenses in 1977 (that is, it did not cover the immediate costs of operation in Youngstown). But in 1978 it made \$10,024,000 and in 1979 it made \$4,693,000 (although its profit was double that on the first 10 months before the shutdown decision). Expecting a bad year for steel generally in 1980, the company projected a profit of \$141,000, but it also expected orders to pick up toward the end of the year and be strong for a couple of years to come.

It would seem that the condition of the contract had been met. In April, plant superintendent Charles Kirwan reported that the Youngstown Works had just enjoyed its fourth best profit quarter in the past decade. If it hadn't been for mechanical problems in the summer and a long-lasting truckers' strike in the area, the 1979 results would have been even better, but the record showed that at the time the executives in Pittsburgh were deciding to close the plant, "the thin line of profitability still existed," according to U.S. Steel attorney Charles Clarke.

U.S. Steel maintained that if one counted in all the

overhead costs in the Pittsburgh headquarters and assigned what they considered a fair share to the Youngstown Works, then the mill lost money. Lynd argued that such figures were not relevant to the contract. Local president Vasquez testified that company officials had told him that the criterion of success was covering local fixed costs. Also, a corporate accountant testified that the objective of the recovery plan initiated in 1977 was "first to demonstrate enough improvement that they could say they were at least covering their own fixed expense."

The judge ruled that the local officials could not bind the corporation with their comments, which were not promises but only encouragement, and that therefore there was no contract. He also accepted the corporate standards of profitability, although he failed in his decision to discuss directly the success of the mill in covering its own fixed costs. Furthermore, he drew back from his earlier speculation about property rights of the workers and observed that existing laws do not "recognize this new property right."

It was a sad day in court. There were tears, but there was also tight-lipped rage. "I think it's bullshit," growled Ed Mann, president of the local union at the closed Brier Hill plant and now an independent candidate for Congress. "It's property rights versus human rights, and in this court there's no room for human rights."

A last chance.

But the judge held out one small loophole. He reserved judgment on the steelworkers' antitrust charge that grew out of U.S. Steel's refusal, repeated in court, to consider selling the closed mill to a community-worker steel company if such an effort received a federal loan guarantee. Judge Lambros said, "there may be some merit" to the antitrust charge and ordered full hearings in 60 days. It will be tough to mount an antitrust case in that time, but the lawyers will pursue it and also appeal the full decision.

Since the judge ordered the corporation to keep the mill in operable condition, it is still possible that he will accept some of the remedial actions Lynd proposed: appointing a trustee to oversee a transition, granting the workers a first option to buy the mill and requiring a price quotation from the company, providing the possible new worker-community company with information about the mill and its customers, and continuing U.S. Steel's past sales to and purchases from the mill for at least five years. But the chances of success have been harmed by the judge's unwillingness to make a decision that had a substantial legal and factual foundation but would have been daring and innovative.

After years of economic shocks as the century-old steel industry has shut down around them, workers in Youngstown have grown more sophisticated and determined in their battles, but many of them are still afraid to hope for much for fear of the pain of disappointment. In the church across the street from the trial, the hurt was palpable, even as people planned the next steps. "We aren't asking for a loaf, just a slice," Robert Kolenich lamented. "And we didn't even get a crumb," his long-time friend and workmate Robert DeGenova added.

The trial was over by 3 p.m. Friday. By 4:30 U.S. Steel was shutting the mill down. On Saturday the last billet was poured. There had been talk, if the community had won its suit, of ringing all the city's church bells. Instead, for an hour on Saturday there was an eerie whine audible throughout much of the city of steam being vented from the closed factory. "It was," said Rev. Chuck Rawlings of the Tri-State Conference on the Impact of Steel, "like the life bleeding out of Youngstown."

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THESE TIMES

Budget fever grips Congress

By Richard Kazis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON HAS recently become a town with a mission. Complacency and congressional scandals have been replaced by new-found zeal and purpose. The federal government has publicly declared war on inflation.

The president has revised his January budget proposal in order to eliminate a \$16 billion deficit. The House Budget Committee, under the aggressive leadership of chairman Robert N. Giaino (D-Conn.), has gone the president one better: the committee approved a fiscal 1981 budget that calls for \$16.4 billion in spending cuts, almost \$3 billion more than Carter proposed. Giaino's plan would even leave the federal government with a modest surplus.

A balanced budget is being pursued by policy-makers with a fervor reminiscent of the campaign to pass Proposition 13 in California. That should serve as a warning: when politicians become preachy about austerity and budget cuts—especially during an election year—it's time to take a close look at what is being cut and why.

Why a balanced budget?

Balancing the budget is only one part of a broader anti-inflation plan proposed by the president. The other key components are a 10¢-per-gallon gasoline tax and selective credit controls. The gas tax is intended to reduce consumption, thereby weakening the demand for OPEC oil, and to reduce America's spendable income by over \$10 billion. The credit controls, restricted primarily to consumer credit, should slow the inflationary expansion of borrowing power.

None of these actions is intended to reduce inflation immediately. Rather, they are designed to attack the "psychology" of inflation, to restore the faith of the country—and of the financial markets—in its leaders' ability to cool the economy. As one Treasury official put it, "We know these measures won't bring down inflation over the next several months. We're counting on the emotional impact of a balanced budget to give people the feeling that something is finally being done."

Balancing the budget is seen as a way for the federal government to take the symbolic lead, to show the nation that the need to reduce spending is real. In his anti-inflation address on March 14, the president admitted that "the sources of inflation are far too complex to be treated by a single remedy." He then added, "But nothing will work until the federal government has demonstrated that it can discipline its own spending and borrowing."

Unfortunately, in order to achieve the desired symbolic effect, very real programs must be cut. Federal belt-tightening is not simply a matter of foregoing the purchase of new government desks or even of freezing federal hiring for a year. The lion's share of budget outlays (over 55 percent this year) is in direct benefit payments to individuals and in grants to states and localities. The federal government does not simply purchase goods and services; it also redistributes income. Though the president makes it seem as if the bureaucracy itself will be making the first sacrifice, that is not the case. Not surprisingly, the greatest sacrifice and austerity is being asked of those Americans who can least afford them, but who traditionally neither vote nor lobby—the nation's poor.

The president's proposal.

In January, President Carter submitted his first budget proposal to Congress, initiating a nine-month process that will



end in September when Congress sets exact budget ceilings for fiscal 1981 for all federal departments, agencies and programs. In a somewhat unusual action, the president later revised his initial budget proposal and announced the revisions on March 14. Arguing that a balanced budget was necessary to help fight inflation in the long run, Carter recommended an

out the political liability of having announced too many specific cuts. And, because the congressional budget committees must prepare their own spending levels and budget cuts between March 15 and April 15, the president can, if necessary, shift the blame for any unpopular cuts onto the legislators themselves.

The president did announce certain

voted to approve the budget package, the six liberals voted against the resolution. Giaino told them they had a right to be angry. "The anguish and suffering," he noted, "are not being shared equally."

The poor pay more.

When the dust had settled, it was clear that domestic social spending was the prime victim. The proposed cuts did include an across-the-board 2 percent reduction in federal operating and administrative costs, a slowdown in purchases of oil for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, the elimination of subsidies for Saturday mail deliveries and some bulk mail privileges, an annual rather than semi-annual adjustment for inflation for federal civilian and military retirees, and a \$1 billion cut in defense outlays from the president's recommended level. These cuts alone would save almost \$5 billion.

But these reductions were overshadowed by the budget cuts that directly affect this country's low and moderate income citizens and the communities where they live. The proposed \$1.7 billion cut in the states' portion of revenue sharing will force many states and municipalities to dismiss workers, reduce spending for public works and transportation, and cut back on education, family services, aid to the elderly, medical care for the poor and other social services. The proposed elimination of \$1 billion of new countercyclical assistance to struggling major cities will make these cities more vulnerable to the effects of the recession being predicted for later this year.

The breadth of other social spending cuts is awesome. They include the deferment of: proposed welfare relief (\$850 million); the Youth Employment Initiative (\$150 million); the Child Health Assurance Program, a Medicaid program for children (\$400 million); and the expansion of Medicare-Medicaid (\$70 million). Programs being reduced or eliminated include: Welfare reform demonstration projects (\$220 million); 50,000 countercyclical jobs under CETA Title VI (\$500 million); unemployment benefits for former CETA workers (\$200 million); and local economic development projects (\$300 million). By adjusting annually instead of semi-annually for inflation, \$400 million will be saved in the food stamp and child nutrition programs. "Better targeting" of low income energy assistance and food stamp payments by

Continued on page 10.

While Carter flirts with "planned recession," Congress considers budget changes that would cut back the basic protections against economic hard times for most people.

additional \$13 billion in budget cuts and \$3 billion in increased revenues to be generated by withholding taxes on interest and dividend income.

The President's revised budget made good political sense. In January, he had been battling a liberal Teddy Kennedy for the Democratic nomination. At that time, he proposed an austere budget, but one that preserved some social spending and would have increased the federal deficit by \$16 billion. By mid-March, with Kennedy's campaign all but over, Carter could afford to position himself politically for the November challenge from the Republicans. As Representative Barber Conable (R-N.Y.) told Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times*, Carter's anti-inflation plan sought "to leave his general-election opponent without traditional alternatives in economic policy."

Some Democrats, including of course representatives of organized labor, have protested the president's decision to out-Hoover the Republicans. But the administration is not particularly concerned. As one campaign aide acknowledged, "The people who are really going to squirm, the real programmatic liberals, are probably with Teddy anyway." And as a White House aide told Smith, "If this works right, we could clinch the nomination and the election."

But to play it safe, the president declined to list in detail all the proposed cuts. He explained that it would take several weeks to finalize the list. This delay, whether it was calculated or unavoidable, has been useful to the president. It has enabled him to conduct the critical Illinois and New York primary fights with-

cuts. He recommended the elimination or reduction of many new initiatives that he had introduced previously, including welfare reform, the state share of general revenue sharing, the Solar and Conservation Bank, mass transit capital grants, and an economic development financing program. He asked for cuts in most agencies, both in general operating expenditures and in specific program areas. One significant spending area that the president spared was defense: his budget called for a \$16 billion increase in defense spending for 1981.

Congressional response.

The House Budget Committee, which began its deliberations on March 19, kept right on cutting. The committee dropped the president's Youth Employment Initiative, shaved \$1 billion from the president's defense recommendations and ended up paring a total of \$3 billion from the president's revised budget.

The sessions were tense and heated. A group of liberals, led by Representative David Obey (D-Wisc.), tried to reduce defense spending but was defeated. Chairman Giaino warned the liberals forthrightly. "Let's face the reality," he said. "There is overwhelming support in this Congress for defense."

The liberal minority then tried unsuccessfully to restore \$4.5 billion in domestic outlays and reduce a planned \$1.7 billion cut in the states' share of general revenue sharing. Both proposals were defeated, the second when Giaino refused to vote a tie-breaking proxy from liberal Representative Norman Minetta (D-Cal.). When the committee finally

PROTESTS

Anti-draft march sends a message

By Joanna Foley

WASHINGTON, D.C.

"I KNOW IT'S COLD," SAID BELLA Abzug to the demonstrators shivering in front of the Capitol. "So we'll just have to keep warm with the heat of our feelings against the draft and the phony war hysteria."

The weather was far from ideal for the first national anti-draft demonstration of the 1980s on March 22. Gusty winds threatened to propel banners and their bearers along Pennsylvania Avenue like Mary Poppins. And the muddiness of the Capitol lawn kept the audience standing throughout the four-hour rally.

But on such a raw day, the presence of 35,000 people was impressive evidence of the opposition to draft registration. Large bus caravans arrived from Detroit, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Gainesville, Fla.

Marching under the slogan "No Registration, No Draft, No Cold War" were veteran activists, children on roller skates and Gray Panthers. But most of the demonstrators were 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds who will soon face registration if Carter's plan passes Congress.

"I don't want to go to war," said a 20-year-old working woman. At 6:30 a.m. she and her friends had boarded a bus in the rain on Manhattan's Upper West Side. Her feelings were summed up by another demonstrator's sign: "Don't catch a cold war—stay out of the draft!"

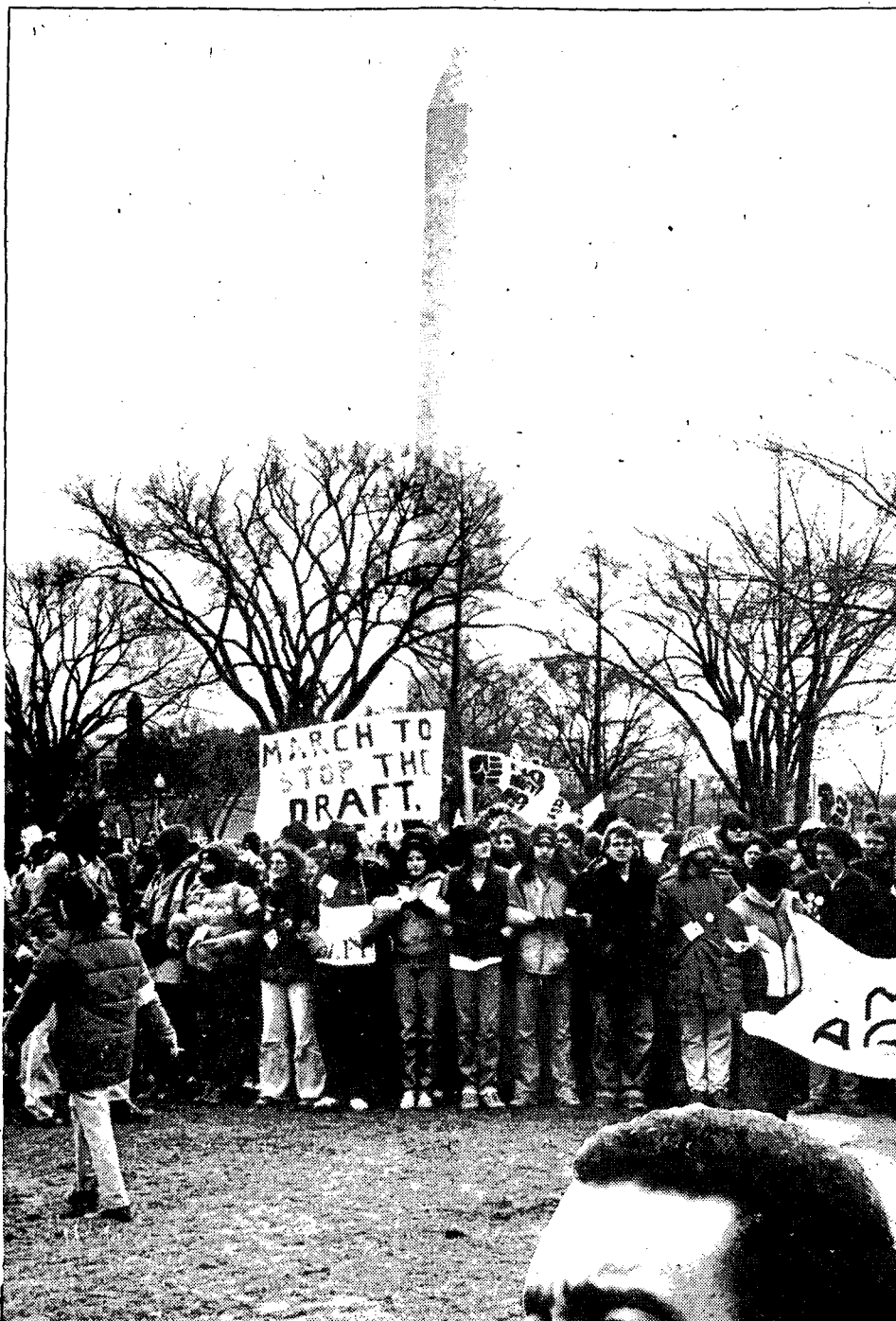
Several student delegations were present, including a large one from Oberlin. Four student leaders spoke at the rally. Tom Palmer of Students for a Libertarian Society told the crowd, "Political leaders who've blown it with the economy always find it useful to start wars to distract people's attention."

The '60s influence.

Comparison with the 1960s peace demonstrations was inevitable—same setting, even some of the same speakers and entertainers. Again, David Dellinger and the Rev. William Sloan Coffin were speaking. Peter Yarrow was no longer with Paul and Mary, but he was still singing "The Great Mandala."

There was even a bit of that '60s staple—disruption. Forty to 50 Moonies rushed the stage but didn't get very far. They were surrounded and isolated by volunteer peacekeepers from the crowd.

But despite similarities to 1960s demonstrations, nostalgia was not the day's dominant note. The theme that emerged was "learn from the past, build for the future." Several speakers said that one important lesson to be learned from the



Right, Stokely Carmichael

Carter is lobbying hard, but the Congress must take note of grassroots resistance in this, an election year.

1960s was the need to organize early. Dellinger said, "More people have already demonstrated against the draft in the last three months than in any comparable period during the first four years of the Vietnam war."

Several peace leaders from the '60s had grown more sharply critical of U.S. foreign policy. Coffin said he feared more U.S. interventions in the Third World. David Harris, a former leader of the draft resistance, said, "We've learned that we can't let the government write any more blank checks to be cashed in the blood of young Americans."

Rally speakers included veterans of other social movements as well. There were labor representatives Victor Gotbaum of the AFSCME and Keven Lynch of UAW, feminist leader Judy Goldsmith of NOW and black activists Stokely Carmichael and the Rev. Ben Chavis.

The president vs. the people.

The demonstration was put together in five weeks of feverish organizing by the National Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD). The ad-hoc coalition was spearheaded by activists from New York's DS-OC office and the War Resisters' League (WRL). It drew support from left political parties, peace groups, women's and minority organizations and labor unions.

But the real organizer of the rally may have been Jimmy Carter. David McReynolds of WRL told IN THESE TIMES, "The president made a blunder when he went beyond 'rally 'round the flag' in his State of the Union address. At that point, he

lost a large part of the American public." Polls already show that 38-50 percent of the public opposes registration.

Shortly after Carter's speech telephones began to ring in the offices of groups like Mobilization for Survival. Concerned parents were calling. So were young people. Hundreds of local rallies, demonstrations and teach-ins followed.

All this grassroots activity in an election year has been quite noticeable to members of Congress who have allowed hearings in various committees to delay approval of Carter's plan. Reportedly, the president considers registration a "must-win" issue and has responded with a heavy lobbying campaign. A decision by the Congress might be reached soon—or it could be delayed until May.

Mobilization Against the Draft decided that a national demonstration was imperative to counter administration pressures on Congress. After the rally, at least 200 individuals stayed over in Washington to lobby on Monday. They expected their arguments to be bolstered by budgetary considerations; postcard registration means an additional expenditure of \$13.3 million at a time when Congress is trying to balance the federal budget for the first time in years.

Most observers are still uncertain about the outcome in Congress. "At least they haven't rubber-stamped the plan so far," says a spokesperson for the Committee for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "I think there's a good chance we're going to win this one," predicts WRL's McReynolds.

Bay Area plans two-day teach-in

By Marcelo Rodriguez

BERKELEY, CALIF.

KPFA, a progressive listener-sponsored radio station in San Francisco, has encountered—and overcome—a number of bureaucratic obstacles in trying to book space at the University of California, Berkeley campus for an anti-draft teach-in.

The teach-in, now slated for April 8 and 9 at the campus' Wheeler Auditorium, appeared doomed for a while when organizers were denied the use of two other campus facilities.

At first, KPFA, along with several student groups, requested the use of the steps in front of Sproul Hall, Berkeley's administration building and the site of countless Free Speech Movement and anti-war demonstrations. The university refused, citing a campus regulation that specifies the use of amplified sound on the steps of Sproul between 12:00 noon and 1:00 p.m.

Despite the historical importance of Sproul Hall, teach-in organizers decided to request an alternate site, the outdoor Hearst Greek Theatre. After tentatively booking the theatre, KPFA began contacting speakers from around the country.

Among the speakers who agreed to participate are Nobel physicist George Wald, former Tanzanian foreign minister Abdul Mohammed Rahman Babu, Los Angeles radio personality Dorothy Healy, the American Indian Movement's Dennis Banks, Representative Ron Dellums, Michael Klare of the Institute for Policy Studies, Marxist economist Doug Dowd, former head of the longshore workers Harry Bridges, Ali Alyami of the American Friends Service Committee, San Francisco's gay Supervisor Harry Britt, Reverend Cecil Williams, Angela Davis, and anti-war activists Ron Kovic and David Harris.

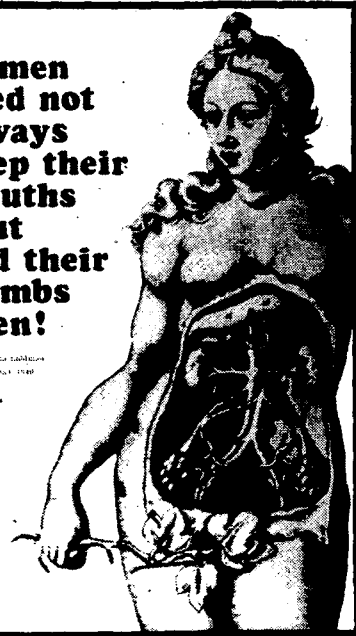
Bay Area folk singers Kate Wolf, Peter Rowan, Gary Lapow and Lennie Anderson also agreed to appear. And in a new twist, some of San Francisco's abundant punk rock groups planned to be on hand, among them the Contractions (an all-woman band) and the Dead Kennedys (whose "California Uber Alles" has received attention both nationally and in Great Britain).

But again, the university turned down KPFA. The reason this time was that a teach-in at the Greek Theatre would interfere with University Charter Day.

KPFA frantically searched for other sites. Finally the university relented and offered the use of Wheeler Auditorium, which holds only 700 people. Faced with the choice of a small facility or none at all, the teach-in committee accepted the auditorium, and made plans to reach more people by broadcasting all four sessions of the teach-in live.

Over 80 political organizations have endorsed the event, including the Abalone Alliance, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Associated Students of the University of California, the Berkeley City Council, the Citizens Party, the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the Communist Party USA, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Mobilization for Survival, the New American Movement, and the Spartacus League. ■

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need not
always
keep their
mouths
shut
and their
wombs
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PRIMARIES

New York to Carter: drop dead

By John Judis

NEW YORK

SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY was not supposed to win in New York City. A week before the March 25 election a Harris poll had him trailing President Jimmy Carter by 61-to-36 percent.

Kennedy was facing in New York the same obstacles that had derailed his Illinois campaign. Chappaquiddick seemed to be a serious issue with voters. According to the same Harris poll, a five-to-one majority of Democratic voters thought Carter would set a better moral example in the White House.

Kennedy's New York organization was, if anything, even more chaotic and inefficient than his Illinois operation. "It's the worst organized campaign I've seen in 20 years," Max Wernik, a Kennedy supporter and Democratic state committeeman, said.

There were virtually no campaign offices outside the Manhattan headquarters, which was often impossible to reach because no one bothered to answer the phone. Local officials and experienced campaign workers were often bypassed for what were described as "imported hacks." Mailings were bungled, major events poorly prepared for.

And in the last weeks, the Carter campaign was able to outspend Kennedy by \$750,000 to \$250,000, inundating New York television with shots of Carter with Sadat and Begin and Rosalyn and Amy.

Kennedy also faced some special problems in New York. The *New York Post*, whose publisher Rupert Murdoch was conveniently awarded a low-interest loan for his Australian airways from the Export-Import Bank, was openly hostile to Kennedy. The *New York Times* printed a front-page rehash of Chappaquiddick, with only the barest hint of new information.

And most New York officials—led by New York City Mayor Edward Koch and Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo—either backed Carter or remained neutral.

But on election day, Kennedy miraculously prevailed in both New York and Connecticut, winning 59 percent of the vote in New York and 47 percent to Carter's 41 percent in Connecticut. He obliterated Carter in New York City and in Connecticut's major cities. Carter defeated Kennedy only in those conservative upstate New York districts that he carried in 1976 against frontrunners Senator Henry Jackson and Representative Morris Udall.

There were even indications that Chappaquiddick was no longer a dominant factor in the election. According to an ABC News poll, 65 percent of Demo-

cratic voters cited "issues" as the main consideration in their choices of a candidate. In one CBS/*New York Times* poll, 49 percent of the voters thought it was possible to trust Kennedy "most of the time," compared to only 46 percent for Carter.

Generally, New York and Connecticut voters seemed to follow the example for their respective locals of *New York Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin rather than the subtle insinuation of the Carter ads. "At the start of the election year,"

Congress didn't convince New York voters.

Sheila Gordon, a lower East Side Manhattan housewife, expressed a reaction typical of New York voters. "I hate Carter," she said. "Carter tells me I'm going to suffer. I don't want to suffer. I wasn't voting for Teddy Kennedy, but I'm so angry now I'm voting for him."

Economic democracy.

Kennedy's New York campaign largely focused on Jewish and minority voters,

"Carter tells me I'm going to suffer," explained one New York City voter. "I don't want to suffer. I'm so angry now I'm voting for Kennedy."

Breslin wrote on election day, "Edward Kennedy went on television and explained Chappaquiddick and I detested his words and the spirit of his words and I never expected to see him here in New York for a primary. Now that he is here and I am to vote, I must make Brooklyn and Queens more important than Chappaquiddick."

Kennedy's victory in New York was not due to any change in his own campaign strategy, but rather to the accelerating deterioration of Carter's Iranian popularity. In New York and Connecticut, it was Carter's policies rather than Kennedy's character that were at issue.

Carter's vote at the UN against Israeli settlements and a divided Jerusalem directly cost him the Jewish vote. In the March 18 Harris Poll, Carter enjoyed a 51-to-41 percent lead among Jews, but on election day he lost Jewish districts in Queens, the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan by three or four to one.

According to Fran Bennick, a Kennedy campaign worker in Queens, Carter's UN vote awakened fears that Carter would sell out Israel to appease Arab oil interests. "His attitude about the Mideast is solely governed by oil," Bennick said.

Carter's UN vote, followed by its repudiation, also recalled previous impressions of administration incompetence in foreign affairs. These impressions were reinforced with the Iranian announcement the weekend before the election that the hostages might still be put on trial.

But even more important than his UN snafu was Carter's plan to battle inflation by raising oil prices and interest rates and cutting back social spending. Balancing the budget and raising energy prices are not popular notions in the Northeast—and particularly in New York City. Carter's assurances to Mayor Koch that he would restore any cuts in aid voted on by

the two voting blocs deemed most susceptible to his appeals. The Jewish vote accounts for 35-40 percent of the Democratic primary vote.

In campaign appearances in Borough Park, an orthodox Jewish working-class section of Brooklyn, and at a Manhattan Upper West Side synagogue, Kennedy reiterated that Carter's UN blunder cannot be "isolated from previous actions as affecting the solidarity of the United States with Israel." Among these actions, Kennedy cited the 1977 invitation of the Soviet Union to join the Mideast peace process, the sale of weapons to Saudi Arabia, and the State Department-Brzezinski overtures to the PLO.

Without clearly stating his position, Kennedy implied that he would be far more tolerant of Israeli settlements in the West Bank than the Carter administration had been. Kennedy charged that the UN resolution unfairly "condemns the institutional structure [of the occupied West Bank] which is one of the items that is supposed to be discussed during the negotiations."

The main thrust of Kennedy's campaign remained, however, his opposition to Carter's economic policies. To every audience he addressed, Kennedy repeated his charges that Carter's budget cuts were made at the expense of the "neediest and poorest people" and pledged that his economic policies would conform to the canons of "social justice and economic democracy."

(In an interesting exchange on *Meet the Press* March 22, moderator Bill Munroe asked Kennedy whether he had in mind the same concept of economic democracy promulgated by Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda—public participation on corporate boards. "I mean economic growth and price stability," Kennedy re-

plied. "The opportunity for people to be employed and to have price stability is the real challenge.")

During the last three days of his campaign, Kennedy highlighted his commitment to the minority poor by visits to the South Bronx, Hispanic and Black Harlem, and Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant. At the Brown Memorial Baptist Church in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Kennedy threw out his prepared text and delivered a ringing indictment of the Carter policies.

"This administration has vowed it is going to cut back," Kennedy told the several hundred black parishioners who had come to hear him. "If the administration wins this election, the cutbacks are going to come: summer jobs for people in this community, cutbacks in education, in the restoration and rehabilitation of housing, cutbacks in human services and the programs that could make a difference to people."

"We find the neediest and poorest people are bearing the brunt of the battle against inflation. You know that, don't you. Now we see this administration in its battle against inflation not really fighting the battle against the major special interests in this country or the major financial interests. I didn't hear the major oil companies being singled out as an area where we could cut back on some of their tax subsidies."

Kennedy won by decisive margins in both Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Andrew Osborne, the director of development at Malcolm-X College in Harlem, explained the change of heart about Carter that seemed to affect many minority voters in the last week of the primary. "People were willing to go along with Carter until his recent economic policy," Osborne said. "But now in New York we're getting it left and right."

Democratic coalition.

Kennedy's wide margin in New York was largely the result of Jewish and minority votes, but Kennedy also received a majority of the working-class Catholic vote in both New York and Connecticut.

Irish, Polish, and Italian working-class Catholics gave Kennedy the edge in Hartford, Waterbury, New Haven, and other Connecticut cities. Blacks and Italians gave Kennedy a three-to-one margin in South Queens. The Irish and Italians won Bay Ridge, Brooklyn's Park Slope, and Staten Island for Kennedy.

Kennedy's successes among these voters is significant. In New York and Connecticut, just as in Massachusetts, Kennedy was able to reassemble the minority-ethnic-labor-middle-class-liberal Democratic coalition that won the major industrial cities and states for John Kennedy in 1960 and Jimmy Carter in 1976. ■

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ON March 23 went even farther out on the limb on which it has been perched for the last two months by deciding to go ahead with plans to settle Israelis in the center of the West Bank Arab City of Hebron.

Specifics of the plan involve restoration of a synagogue and two homes owned by Jews before the Hebron community was wiped out by the Jewish-Arab violence of 1929. Together with a new building, the existing buildings will be made into a residential school for soldiers who combine military service with religious study. In addition, a former Jewish clinic in the city that has already been occupied for nearly a year by Israeli settlers demanding the reoccupation of Hebron will become an institute for study of the region's history and geography.

As expected, the Palestinian reaction has been strongly negative. At a rally the day after the decision, Hebron mayor Fahd Kawasma declared a boycott of Jewish settlers in the region, and urged large-scale civil resistance by Palestinians in the territories. "There is not enough room in the Israeli jails to hold all of us," the mayor warned. On March 25, a general strike closed down the West Bank, and a delegation of Israelis who have formed the Committee Against Settlement in Hebron called on Kawasma.

The committee, an unprecedented coalition of Zionists and anti-Zionists, Communists and various forms of socialist Israeli groups, was discussing the possibility of joint protests with Hebron residents, and the more liberal Peace Now movement was also planning to demonstrate inside Israel.

Inside the cabinet itself, only eight ministers supported the Hebron move, several of them reluctantly. Six were opposed, and four abstained or were absent. The debate was not on the principle of settlement, but on the timing—the autonomy talks are entering their last crucial months and relations with the U.S. are strained.

Opposition in the territories.

In East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the opposition has been led by the National Guidance Committee, the most powerful organized body to emerge in the occupied territories since 1967. Organized in 1978, after the Camp David Accord—and acting quite openly of late—the NGC has continued to insist that the Palestine Liberation Organization is its people's only representative. But it has not hesitated to quietly criticize the Beirut-based organization's reconciliation, since Camp David, with King Hussein of Jordan. And it has excluded the king's closest friends in the territories from its ranks.

The main focus of resistance in the territories recently has been Hebron, where the Israeli right has pushed for "resettlement" of Jews in the city as an "appropriate Zionist response" to the



Drawing by David Levine reprinted with permission of New York Review of Books ©1979, Nyrev, Inc.

Hebron settlement issue may topple Begin government

shooting death of a soldier-settler from nearby Kiryat Arba on Jan. 31.

The killing in Hebron was the first direct fatal attack on a Jewish settler in the West Bank, but by no means the first instance of conflict between Arab Hebronites and their Jewish neighbors. In the last year alone, several hundred Arab-owned grapevines on a hillside adjoining the Jewish settlement were mysteriously sawed off, several Arab families were beaten and their furniture smashed, and two Arab youths were shot to death in nearby Halhoul, allegedly by Kiryat Arba residents.

Kiryat Arba residents—dominated by the militant Gush Emunim group and including a number of members of the openly racist Jewish Defense League—organized vigilante groups that wandered freely through Hebron during the 11-day curfew imposed after the killing terrorizing Arabs. There were no arrests.

Israeli doves and the liberal press wondered whether that spectacle was a foretaste of Israel's proposed "autonomy" for the West Bank's Arabs, but not for the territory on which they live.

The legal issues.

Legal questions have been raised concerning the plan to "resettle" the dozen or so Jewish-owned buildings in Hebron. Under Jordanian law—still applied for most purposes by Israel's military government in the territories—Arab residents of the habitable homes have the status of protected tenants.

And behind the specific property rights issue lies a much larger question of precedent: if the "Jewish people," or even the original specific owners, hold rights to former Jewish property in Hebron, what about former Arab property in Haifa, Jaffa and hundreds of other towns and villages abandoned in 1948?

At a Feb. 15 meeting in his home with Israelis from the Peace Loyalists Group, the politically centrist, pro-PLO Kawasma said that the houses' original owners, but not Gush Emunim, were welcome to return, on condition that Palestinians could return to their former homes. Reaffirming his support of what he calls a "more realistic solution"—a West Bank-Gaza Strip state alongside Israel—Kawasma, an active member of the NGC body, revealed that before 1948, he personally owned three houses in what is now Jewish Jerusalem. "If Gush Emunim is allowed to move into the center of Hebron," he vowed, "I and my wife and children will go and camp out in front of one of them in Jerusalem."

Mass protest.

The Palestinians also called for a mass protest meeting at Jerusalem's al-Aksa mosque on Feb. 19, but the authorities prevented non-Jerusalemites from reaching the city.

The pray-in was an interesting tactical move by the pro-PLO National Guidance group, which has a considerable left presence.

The PLO-Jordan reconciliation (justified by most Palestinians on at least a tactical basis, to prevent King Hussein from joining the Camp David process) has made some West Bank leaders nervous about the PLO's left wing in Beirut. This tension has been exploited by various conservative elements through verbal and written attacks on the Palestinian left in the West Bank and Gaza.

A new element, following current Middle Eastern fashion, has been the use of militant Islamic rhetoric against the leftists. Religious-led candidates won a surprising 40 percent of the vote in a recent election at Birzeit University, considered a hotbed of radicalism—and there have been a few violent assaults on reputed communists.

Thus it was interesting that the Palestinian leftists, who put a strong stress on

national unity while reserving their right to ideological distinctiveness, and who hold key positions in West Bank and Gaza political, social and labor institutions, chose to sponsor political protests in mosques.

A united front.

In another attempt to maintain unity—and their leading positions—three of the more radical West Bank mayors accompanied more conservative West Bank figures to Amman in late February to meet with the joint PLO-Jordan committee responsible for aid to West Bank cities from the Arab states.

The mayors complained that money received has fallen far short of what was promised at the Baghdad anti-Camp David summit in November 1978. In addition, they probably thrashed out some important differences concerning Jordan's role in the West Bank—which it officially disclaimed in favor of the PLO in 1974, but unofficially covets.

But differences belong mostly to the future. Despite the strains, all the mayors and public figures in the occupied territories are maintaining a strong united front against autonomy and settlements, and—publicly at least—on the demand for an independent West Bank-Gaza Strip state.

The unstable coalition.

Since the cabinet decision faces strong opposition even within Israel's ruling coalition, the intense debate ahead could quite easily result in the government's downfall and early elections.

Three of the opponents in the cabinet were from deputy premier Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement, one splinter of a centrist bloc whose coalitions agreement with Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Likud allows it to appeal government decisions on settlements to the parliamentary foreign affairs and defense committee. Begin's allies were trying to delay the appeal, but it will almost certainly take place, and together with opposition parties, the Democratic Movement can line up 12 certain "no" votes out of 25.

Of the other 13 committee members, several support the views of other ministers, such as Ezer Weizman and the liberal party branch of the Likud, who either opposed the Hebron move or abstained. Defeat would seem certain for the government, except that parliamentary rules allow Israel's governing parties to guarantee loyalty in such cases by replacing dissenting committee members for the vote.

Begin could allow the committee to defeat the settlement idea as a face-saving way out, but if he insists on winning the case, it would create possibly irresistible pressure on the Democratic Movement to walk out on the coalition, thus bringing it down. A walkout had been urged by some of the party's leaders even before the latest Hebron decision. The Begin government's popularity is at an all-time low—latest polls give the opposition Labor Party a near majority—and a sinking ship mentality is spreading among the government's more marginal allies.

Early elections would be considered certain if not for one element—polls show that the Democratic Movement would lose even more than the Likud, so it still shares an interest in prolonging the government's life until late 1981, when elections must take place.

The only government party likely to maintain its strength in elections if they take place soon is the National Religious Party, with a relatively stable constituency—10 percent of the electorate.

The Religious Party has a strong ultra-hawkish element, deeply involved in backing the zealous West Bank settlers and the Hebron project. But it also includes more dovish factions—and plain opportunist ones: only one of the three ministers voted for the March 23 cabinet decision, despite the party's official position in favor of Hebron settlement.

To some observers, it seemed that the seasoned NRP politicians were trying to spur the controversy from both sides, perhaps hoping to gently push the Begin government, seen by them as a lost cause for domestic reasons, out of office. ■

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THE MIDDLE EAST

Gulf states must plan for the time when the oil runs dry

By Diana Johnstone

FRENCH PRESIDENT VALÉRY Giscard d'Estaing got extra mileage out of his recent tour of the oil-producing Arab Gulf states by presenting his proclamation of the Palestinian people's right to "self-determination" as something new and historic. Arab rulers went along, because they desperately need some political justification for their profitable ties to the West, and because it fits the scenario of Europe's gradual adoption of a more pro-Palestinian policy that the foreign policy establishment in Washington probably secretly welcomes but does not dare fully endorse for fear of the pro-Zionist lobby in the U.S. By seeming to assume leadership of Europe's bold new Middle Eastern policy, Giscard scored a domestic political triumph that probably contributed more to his re-election campaign than to France's oil supplies, which are already assured.

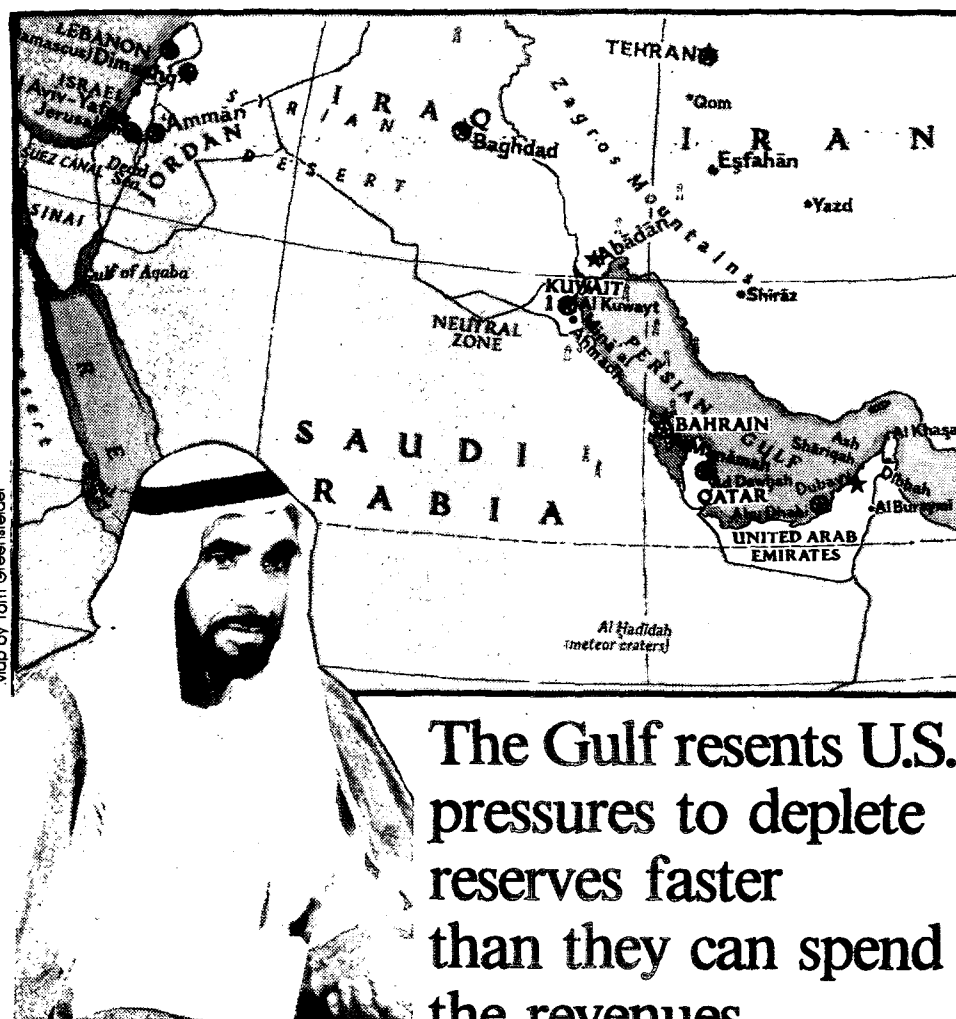
An Arab diplomat has warned that the weak and wealthy principalities strung along the southern shore of the Gulf, source of 40 percent of the non-communist world's oil, could fall "like a broken string of prayer beads" if, on the heels of the Iranian revolution, the brewing upheaval glimpsed recently in Mecca should overtake neighboring Saudi Arabia. Not only France but all of Western Europe is looking to Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a possible key to stability and on-going Western influence in the Arab world, notably the Gulf. Giving satisfaction to the PLO may even be seen as a necessary political preliminary to the much-heralded U.S. military operations to secure the Hormuz Straits, gateway to the Gulf.

The steamy, shallow body of water diplomats call simply "the Gulf" to avoid offending either its Persian or Arabian claimants was known for thousands of years for its pearl-divers. That age-old trade was wiped out in the 1930s by competition from Japanese cultured pearls. Providentially, this was exactly when an even more precious treasure was being found in the depths. The oil boom has given the citizens of the Gulf states the highest per capita income in the world—Kuwait is first with average annual income at about \$15,000—and the Gulf principalities have also lavished welfare state benefits, such as free medical care, education and pensions of all kinds, on their lucky citizens.

However, a huge proportion of the inhabitants are not citizens, but foreign laborers, technicians and professional people drawn by the oil boom. Never before could this desert region support so many people, and it is by no means clear how it will support even the original population once the oil runs out, with not even pearl diving to fall back on. Thus an overriding preoccupation of the region is to stretch out oil resources as long as possible, meanwhile trying to prepare substitute economic activities.

On this point, there is growing consciousness of a conflict of interest with the U.S., whose policy is to use up Arab oil before its own reserves are fully tapped—and at a pace far greater than the Arab states' capacity to spend or even invest their revenues. The U.S. has not at all followed the Europeans and Japanese in reducing petroleum consumption, one of many signs of American insensitivity to the region's problems.

The four Gulf states, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, owe their independence from their big neighbors (Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia) to the British Empire, which protected their sheikhs and emirs. Kuwait was granted independence in 1961,



Sheikh Zayed

The Gulf resents U.S. pressures to deplete reserves faster than they can spend the revenues.

the others ten years later. With Britain no longer up to its imperial role, the U.S. armed the Shah to police the region. Since his fall, there is no cop on the beat. For the moment, Gulf state rulers are less afraid of the Soviet threat than of an intrusion of direct American military "protection," which could trigger the internal troubles that seem the greatest threat to the status quo.

While the natives of the southern coast are mostly Sunni Moslems, a large part of the immigrant population is Shi'ite Moslem of Iranian origin, particularly sensitive to the appeal of Khomeini. The Palestinian minority, although less numerous, has up to now been more important politically because it occupies the upper levels of the economic hierarchy.

KUWAIT

Kuwait is the richest and most populous of the Gulf states, with about 1,200,000 inhabitants and at least 10 percent of the world's known oil reserves. Wedged into the innermost corner of the Gulf between Iraq and Saudi Arabia (whose past claims to the territory were effectively discouraged by the British), Kuwait also has enormous quantities of natural gas and the best port in the region, but its natural assets stop there. Thus Kuwait has set an oil production ceiling of 2.15 million barrels per day (compared to 3.2 million in the early '70s) that can make its reserves last for a century. Determination to pursue oil conservation policies was strengthened sharply by the U.S. freeze on Iranian assets in American banks last fall, which dramatically brought home to Kuwaitis that their oil wealth, when transformed into dollar bank accounts, might suddenly disappear into thin air at a word from a U.S. president.

Many measures are taken to spread the wealth around and avoid the flagrant social injustice that enraged Iranians against the Shah. For example, every Kuwaiti man who marries a Kuwaiti woman gets a state dowry of about \$18,000. Some of these measures are considered excessive by leftist Kuwaiti intellectuals who fear a "corrupted welfare state." Ten percent of government revenues from oil are earmarked for a Future Generations Fund, a nest-egg for

the post-petroleum Kuwaitis—and 8 percent of GNP goes to foreign aid to underdeveloped countries.

Over half the population is foreign, and half the foreigners are from Palestine. Palestinians are the most dynamic part of the population, prominent in the administration, university and news media. Along with Lebanon, Kuwait has the best and freest press in the Arab world. The superior skills and education of Palestinians have made them an indispensable modern intelligentsia in Kuwait as in Saudi Arabia (despite Saudi efforts to reduce their dependence on

Palestinians, and with it their obligation to support the Palestinian cause, by importing South Koreans). The wealth and relative freedom of Kuwait has made it a Palestinian political center. This is where Arafat first founded Fatah, the backbone of the PLO.

Nearly one-third of the population is Shi'ite, but they are relatively prosperous and thus do not share the economic grievances of Shi'ite minorities in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Iraq. Nevertheless, wealthy Shi'ite businessman Ahmad al Mehri was stripped of his Kuwaiti citizenship last September and expelled to Iran for allegedly leading pro-Khomeini agitation. Kuwaiti opposition leader Ahmad el Khatib makes a distinction between a "backward" and an "enlightened" Shi'ite movement, and like the rest of the left in the Gulf region, tries to ally with the latter.

Kuwait is ruled by the al Sabah dynasty. An experiment in parliamentary democracy was called off in August 1976. Political freedoms are most important to the foreign immigrants, who are left out of traditional ways of satisfying complaints and reaching consensus.

BAHRAIN

Bahrain is a small island surrounded by about 30 tiny ones, several still claimed by neighboring Qatar and all claimed, until 1970, by Iran from the opposite side of the Gulf. The main "island of a million palm trees" is a solitary green spot in the sandy region and the site of an ancient civilization. The first oil strike in the Gulf region was in Bahrain in 1925. After 48 years of extraction, Bahrain's oil is running out and production is already dropping to less than three million tons per year. Underground water sources are also dropping as a result of the boom, threatening to dry up the tropical greenery.

Bahrain is trying to use its head start in the oil business to keep going with services to the rest of the region, notably its offshore banking units, which has made it a world financial center, and its giant ship repair yard, able to handle super-tankers.

About one-fourth of the population of 350,000 are immigrant workers, mainly Iranian, Pakistani and Indians. The native Arab population is about evenly divided between Sunni and Shi'ite Moslems, both particularly tolerant, and there are also small Christian and Jewish communities.

The ruling al Khalifa princes, like the other Arab rulers in the region, were not

Continued on page 10.

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STB1

COMRADE ERNEST KADUNGURE, a member of the Central Committee of ZANU, was addressing a campaign rally in a rural hamlet some 100 miles south of Salisbury.

Kadungure, a short, good-humored man, bent slightly in the afternoon drizzle and grinned slyly. "Some people say you are intimidated into supporting us."

A chorus of angry "no's" swept through the crowd of 3,000 people, some of whom had trudged 20 miles to the rally.

"They say the ZANU people are outsiders, terrorists who do not know what is going on in Zimbabwe," Kadungure smiled even more provocatively.

The response was even louder. "No!" "Down with these people." "Forward with ZANU."

Kadungure paused, then concluded triumphantly, "We say to them, 'If you want to know what is going on in somebody's house—you talk to the owner.'"

The crowd exploded with laughter and applause.

One week later, Zimbabwe served notice on the world who its owner was. The Patriotic Front's smashing win (77 of 80 seats, 87 percent of the vote) forestalled white-led coup attempts and South African intervention, which would have been possible with a less decisive margin of victory.

And the powerful showing of ZANU (57 seats, 63 percent of the vote), the more radical PF wing, means it can easily control the 100-seat parliament on its own.

On Independence Day, April 18, ZANU leader Robert Mugabe will assume power at the head of an enormously popular and broad-based movement that plans to slowly but relentlessly change the face of Zimbabwe without being forced or panicked into abrupt moves.

Whites here, and most outside observers, were stunned at the magnitude of the PF victory. A black hotel clerk said, "The white manager came in the day the results were released and said 'Good morning' to each of us. He's worked here for 25 years and this is the first time he's greeted the Africans."

Whites had thought Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the prime minister in the short-lived "internal settlement" government, would be able to parley lavish outside funding (much of it from South Africa) into a strong showing. The bishop, who barnstormed the country in three helicopters, got only 8 percent of the vote and three seats—"one seat for each helicopter," black Zimbabweans chuckled.

After recovering from the initial shock, whites argued that the PF landslide had been caused almost exclusively by a yearning for peace. Some 23,000 guerrillas had reported to assembly points, as stipulated in the Lancaster House agreement in London, and they remained there during the transition. The degree of conflict in the country plummeted. After the vote, whites said that the blacks, especially the 75 percent in the devastated rural areas, voted for the guerrilla alliance to keep the war from resuming.

There is limited truth to this argument. Blacks did vote for peace, but not at any price. ZANU organizers told rural audiences the war would start anew if the British or white Rhodesians broke their word—and the crowds cheered wildly.

The rural campaign.

The PF as a whole—but especially ZANU—won because of its astonishing success in penetrating rural Zimbabwe. There was scarcely an area in the countryside that had not known—and supported—the guerrilla fighters.

The regional results show the PF did best in areas of the most intense fighting. In Manicaland, bordering Mozambique to the east, ZANU won 84 percent of the vote and all 11 seats. In southeastern Victoria province, the "hottest" area in the final stages of the war, ZANU swept the 11 seats with 87 percent of the tally. These areas had boycotted Muzorewa's April 1979 elections. By turning out this time, their voters raised the percentage poll nationwide from 64 percent to an incredible 93 percent.

The effectiveness of the guerrilla war



THE HOUSE THAT BOBBY BUILT



was clearly apparent in the Charter District, which forms part of the central Midlands province. This writer spent four days travelling through the region with a ZANU campaign team, during which we covered more than 400 miles on back roads just re-opened after the recent fighting.

Everywhere, signs of the devastation caused by the war were apparent. The dirt roads were pitted with mine holes, and an occasional ditch dug by the guerrillas to trap military vehicles. Most of the communications wires were down. A number of villages were gutted and totally abandoned.

The local people were enthusiastic for ZANU. One rally, held in Chisangano, a village deep in one of the "liberated zones" where the Rhodesian military rarely ventured in the war's later stages, was perhaps typical. Chisangano's ZANU committee, which fed and sheltered guerrillas during the war, was intact, and campaign organizers sent it advance notice of the date and time of the rally. Two days later, 3000 people, informed by the fabled "bush telegraph," were on hand, whooping and dancing, as the two battered ZANU cars rolled up.

The people gathered together under a grove of trees, and waited expectantly. A young ZANU aide stepped forward, raised a clenched fist, and said calmly, "Pamberi ne ZANU—Forward with ZANU."

Three thousand people—women with infants strapped to their backs, barefoot old men—raised their fists and answered in a roar, "Pamberi."

A young woman wearing a red kerchief then rose hesitantly, and in a haunting voice sang the first line of a revolutionary song. The crowd joined in, and several hundred women began to dance. An old man stood on his head with excitement.

Ernest Kadungure, 42 years old, who left Charter for exile 16 years ago, stepped forward. "Thank you for giving us your sons and daughters to fight for our freedom. Let us pray for those who have died."

Some people knelt; others, following the African custom, clapped rhythmically while the women wailed.

Then Kadungure began to speak, starting with the most crucial issue—the land. "They took half our country," he said. "They made large farms there. They left us with bad land, covered with anthills, sandy. We will divide up the big white farms, and everyone can have land. Then those who want to remain in the sand, can."

The crowd clapped and laughed.

"School fees," he continued, to loud sounds of disapproval. "School uniforms. Books. We pay \$25 a child each year. We will make these things free to all. Then you will have to beat your children to get them to go to school."

More laughter and applause.

Then Joe Jokonya, a young lecturer in history at the university in Salisbury, rose from one of the benches the local committee had managed to borrow. Jokonya, who is also from Charter, escaped from one of Ian Smith's prisons in the mid-'60s and lived in exile until last year.

"Our struggle is not between blacks and whites," he began quietly. "Muzorewa is black—yet since he became prime minister he has commanded Rhodesian soldiers to kill our children."

"Muzorewa wears a collar around his neck. He is keeping the wealth of our Zimbabwe inside that collar, away from us. But the collar is open at the back—that's where the wealth flows away, to Britain and overseas."

"Muzorewa says we are Communists. Britain and America have free education for all. That is what we want. Are they Communists in Britain and America?"

"Muzorewa says if we win there will be no more marriage—all wives will be taken away and shared. Comrade President Mugabe told me if that happens they can take his wife first."

The men chuckled with glee. The women did not find the joke as funny.

The rally closed with more songs, including a new one called "Vote for the Rooster." The British governor, Lord Soames, had banned ZANU's original symbol, the AK-47 assault rifle, as in-

flammatory, so the party, in a master-stroke, replaced it with a symbol that has great appeal to rural Zimbabweans. Hundreds of dancing people, flapping their arms and crowing, escorted the ZANU cars out of Chisangano.

"Stop Mugabe."

Such overwhelming enthusiasm, reproduced across the country, thwarted Britain's plan to keep ZANU from power. Lord Soames recognized before the vote that ZANU would emerge as the largest single party, but if it could be held to 38 or 39 seats he planned to stitch together a coalition among Muzorewa, the 20 seats reserved for whites (all won by Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front), and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU. Coalition supporters floated a remarkable re-interpretation of the Lancaster House agreement, which would appear to have ruled out such an alignment.

Nkomo would be lured in by offering him the prime ministership, which he never had a chance of getting in a ZANU-ZAPU coalition. This "stop-Mugabe" arrangement was a definite possibility: Nkomo, cagey as ever, did not rule it out; and RF leaders began clucking approvingly about their erstwhile enemy. Muzorewa—or at least some of his people—would have been brought on board with massive bribery.

To keep ZANU's vote down, Soames spoke out repeatedly against its 5,000 or so guerrillas he said have not reported to the assembly points, and he even threatened to ban votes from areas he said suffered ZANU "intimidation." He was quiet about the Rhodesian forces, including at least 16,000 "auxiliaries" loyal to Muzorewa, who roamed around the countryside beating and threatening ZANU supporters. (A favorite auxiliary tactic was to arrest ZANU campaigners on specious charges, much as southern sheriffs used to treat civil rights workers.) Soames was also notably restrained about the three attempts on Mugabe's life in a single week, which forced the ZANU president to stop campaigning personally.

Leaving the day-to-day management of the country in the hands of the old Rhodesian government apparatus also helped the stop-ZANU effort: Soames was a nearly invisible presence, who rarely emerged from Government House. All of the estimated 240,000 refugees outside the country, for instance, were to have come back by the election. But obstructive Rhodesian officials kept the number of returnees to 30,000, depriving both PF wings of votes.

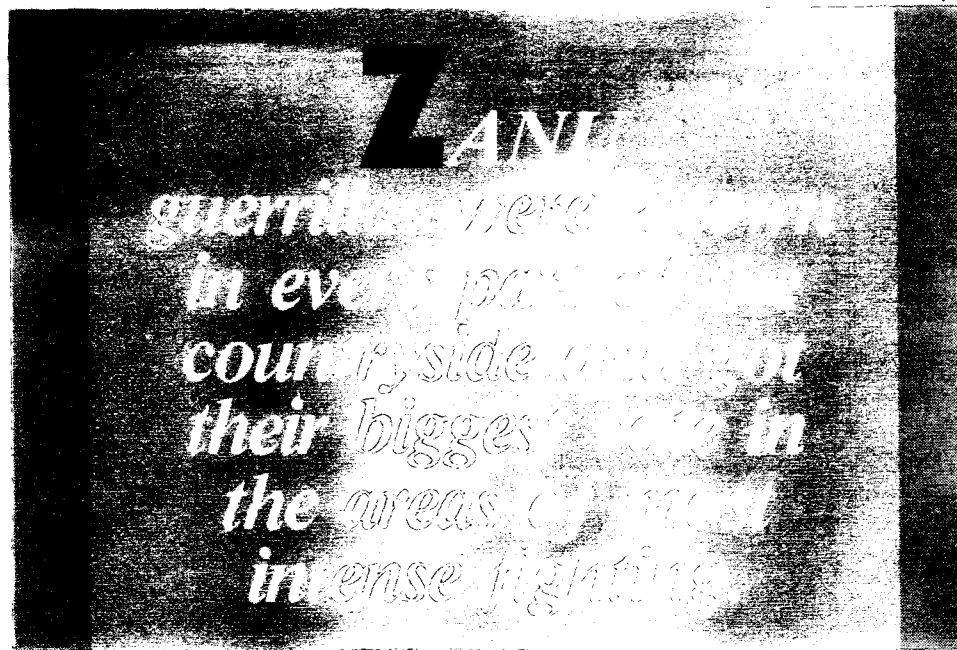
The media, unchanged in its bias, played up incidents of violence to spread the false impression that the war continued at its previous level. Meanwhile, rallies and statements by ZANU (and to a lesser extent ZAPU) were downplayed, ignored or distorted. Finally, elements of the security forces carried out a destabilization effort 10 days before the vote, bombing three Salisbury churches and then blaming the explosions on the "anti-Christian Marxists."

Avoiding drastic change.

After the election, the attitude toward Mugabe changed with breathtaking speed. As crowds surged through Salisbury and the surrounding black townships, Mugabe (introduced as "Comrade") spoke to the nation by television, stressing reconciliation and promising no immediate drastic change. People who had wanted his head the day before praised his "statesmanship"; even Ian Smith found him "forthright and responsible."

Mugabe moved quickly. First he invited ZAPU into the government, giving Nkomo the powerful Ministry of Home Affairs. The offer fulfilled a long-standing promise: it also was an effort to unify the country. There was an undeniable ethnic, regional pattern to the voting: ZAPU did best in western Matabeleland, while ZANU's strength was based more among ChiShona-speaking people in the center and east.

Mugabe then tapped two whites for his Cabinet: one of them, David Smith, was a minister for both Ian Smith and Muzorewa. He told South Africa that while he



abhors apartheid, he will not permit guerrilla groups to launch attacks south from Zimbabwean bases. And he asked General Peter Walls, the Rhodesian security force commander, to stay on and supervise the integration of the several armies into a single force.

Mugabe's actions, which are bound to raise some charges outside Zimbabwe (though not inside) that he is selling out,

are based on the shrewdest, most imperative kind of pragmatism. With respect to whites, ZANU is committed to multi-racialism, but it also wishes to avoid a disruptive white exodus, accompanied by sabotage, as happened in Mozambique and Angola. Not all whites are vital to the country, as they were fond of boasting, but some certainly are, at least in the short term. If they leave, others



Above, Women celebrate the ZANU victory in Salisbury; Below, Comrade Bernard is typical of a generation of Zimbabweans who have spent most of their adult lives fighting or in exile.

will have to be imported, at a higher cost to the country.

The reassurances to South Africa are quite plainly necessary to reduce the danger of intervention. They are part of the perception by the front-line states, especially Mozambique and Zambia, that after the devastation of the Zimbabwean war, this is not the time to invite an even larger regional conflict.

The integration of the armies is the most critical issue of all. The Rhodesian military was not destroyed in battle, though it was clearly losing. By integrating, the PF alliance hopes to separate Rhodesian black soldiers, some 80 percent of the total, from their white officers, with the well-motivated guerrilla fighters acting as the solvent.

The role of the West.

The present "era of good feelings" will not last forever. Zimbabwe has not had a revolution; it is having one, in a curious and unique manner. The multinational corporations, some of which have extensive landholdings in the country, were never entirely happy with Ian Smith, seeing his settler regime as blocking the smooth integration of Zimbabwe into the neo-colonialist system. They have now lost their battle to keep a radical black government from taking over, but they retain enormous economic power which they can use to shape or frustrate PF initiatives.

One area of conflict will certainly be the land. The PF alliance has pledged first to acquire un- or under-utilized white farmland, which could amount to 40 percent of the half of the country previously zoned for whites. But a German study in 1977 estimated at least 75 percent of the white land would eventually be needed for adequate resettlement, which could then threaten the large multinational concerns. There will also be disagreement over the type of resettlement: ZANU favors collective agriculture ("by persuasion rather than compulsory," according to its election manifesto), while the multinationals and their allies will advocate individual freeholdings.

Compensation for land acquisition will give the West leverage over the pace and kind of change in Zimbabwe. It agreed at Lancaster House to provide funds, but did not promise any amount. (There was loose agreement that the U.S. would supply 60 percent, Britain 30 percent, and the EEC 10 percent.) To acquire 75 percent of white land could cost up to \$1 billion, without even considering the additional funds for resettlement. The new government, saddled with other costs of reconstructing the battered country and expanding education, could not afford even a tiny fraction of such an amount.

Compensation from outside will assist a smooth, harmonious transition in the most vital sector of the economy. It is also the West's, particularly Britain's, responsibility—for putting the settlers there and leaving them virtually untouched when they rebelled. But to expect the West not to react if the PF government nationalizes, say, Union Carbide, would be putting hope before reason.

Any effort to frustrate Zimbabwe's revolution will have to confront determined men like Comrade Bernard, who is 28 years old and a deputy detachment commander in ZANU's army. Bernard has spent most of the last seven years fighting in the bush, and he enjoyed the respite during the two-month transition period in Assembly Point Delta, near the Mozambique border. "The outside world thinks we are barbarians," he said, just before the election. "But we are human beings. We fought because of the suffering of the rural people. We saw no other way to help them."

There are estimates that as many as one in four of the guerrillas who fought for their country's freedom were killed in combat. Thousands of black civilians also died, partly as a consequence of protecting and supporting the fighters. Now the war is over. Zimbabwe still faces an uncertain future. But there is greater cause for hope here—and in the rest of southern Africa—than at any time in memory.

The Gulf

Continued from page 7.

heartbroken by the fall of the arrogant Shah, who they figured got what he deserved for mistreating his people. But there was an unpleasant shock last September when the Iranian Ayatollah Rouhani announced he was ready to lead a revolutionary movement in Bahrain to overthrow the government if it failed to adhere strictly to Islam. This threat conflicts with Bahrain's aspiration to be a world business center, which depends in part on a less puritanical atmosphere (drinks are served in hotels) than its neighbors, especially Saudi Arabia.

Q A T A R

Qatar is quite different: desolate and sweltering, the peninsula was known to Arabs as "the land God forgot" until the oil boom of the 1940s brought the money pouring into the Al Thani family sheikhdom. The people here have the austere morals to go with a godforsaken land. They are Wahhabites, following the Islamic puritanism preached in the 18th century by Mohammed Abdul Wahhab and also imposed on neighboring Saudi Arabia by the Saud dynasty. Qatar produces 25 million tons of petroleum per year and has immense natural gas reserves that will start being tapped this year.

Instead of a few fishing villages and date palm oases, Qatar now has free medical care for everybody, five big modern hospitals in the capital, Doha, state pensions for widows, the aged and orphans, interest-free loans for home-building and a university of 1200 students, men and women. A full three-quarters of the population of 200,000 are foreigners, including 40,000 Iranians, 20,000 Palestinians and 60,000 Pakistani and Bengali workers, as well as Egyptians, Syrians and Lebanese.

The oil may last only another 30 years, so Qatar is trying desperately to diversify its economy. There are new steel, petrochemical and cement plants. The most bold ambition of Sheikh Khalifa Ben Hamad al Thani is to create an agriculture that could eventually enable the population to feed itself. Fifteen hundred artesian wells, a number of pilot farms, an experimental center and fertilizer factories are "making the desert bloom," at least a little. Trees are being imported from France in the hope of creating a forest large enough to change the climate.

Qatari information minister Issa al Kawi gave *Le Monde* the Gulf states' point of view on the eve of Giscard's visit. "The Arabs have made huge concessions to Israel. They have reduced their demands to a minimum. The leaders cannot go any farther without being disavowed or even overthrown by their people. The Arabs have implicitly recognized Israel, but the Israeli government hasn't even been willing to make the necessary gestures enabling that recognition to be made formal and official."

"If the United States is embarrassed by the Israeli-Arab conflict because it's a domestic political problem on account of the Jewish vote, why doesn't Europe, which has considerable interests in the region, take an initiative that could help the American president stand up to internal pressures, and incidentally help solve a problem that threatens the region's stability and world peace?" *Le Monde* quoted the Qatar official as asking. His question seems to be getting an affirmative answer.

U A E

The United Arab Emirates consist of Abu Dhabi, whose oil and gas deposits (4.4 billion tons) nearly equal the proven reserves of the U.S., and six other, much

smaller principalities, only two of which—Dubai and Sharja—have oil resources of their own. Foreign immigrants, notably from Pakistan and India, make up a full 80 percent of the population of 650,000.

The UAE has been relatively slow in making the two main oil policy changes of the '70s. First, in 1974, it moved to control its oil resources by taking 60 percent of the shares in the multinational oil companies operating in the country. But it has so far lagged behind Kuwait and Qatar, who have taken full control of oil production. It may do so to carry out the second prevailing policy change: the turn toward conservation and more measured use of both petroleum and its earnings.

Sheikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi, president of the UAE, didn't mind seeing the Shah fall. But hopes of getting back three little islands in the Hormuz straits, the Gulf's gateway, seized by the Shah in 1971, have so far been dashed by the Shah's successors in Tehran. Iraq, apparently grooming itself to be the next cop on the Gulf beat, has called for their restitution to the UAE. (Kuwaiti journalists reportedly believe Iraq is behind recent sabotage of Iran's Khuzistan oil fields.)

According to some well-informed sources, some of the participants in the capture of the great Mosque in Mecca last Nov. 20 managed to escape to relatives in the Emirates. According to these sources, the occupation of the great Mosque was only a pre-arranged fall-back after the failure of a rebellion aimed at overthrowing the Saudi dynasty. Occupation of the sanctuary gave the rebels a chance to express their grievances and enabled many of them to mingle with the huge crowd of pilgrims and escape before armed forces began a two-week siege that caused countless deaths and ended in the capture and beheading of 170 rebels, these sources say. The action was not at all a one-shot gesture of religious fanatics, but rather the opening of an insurrectional movement that will surely be heard from again, most observers believe.

Sheikh Zayed has no sympathy for Soviet communism, whatever it may be, but neither is he impressed by U.S. outrage over the invasion of Afghanistan. "Is it right to blame the Russians just to have an excuse to do the same sort of thing?" he asked in a recent television interview.

There is fear of the USSR around the Gulf, but much greater fear that the U.S. is deliberately building tension in order to have a pretext to intervene. But to what end? It is true, as the American right says, that American "protection" has lost credibility through U.S. failure to save the Shah—even among governments that had no use for the Shah. But that isn't the only cause for distrust. The

U.S.' unrestrained oil consumption makes its eagerness to "protect" oil resources that both the Arab producers and the European consumers would like to stretch out as long as possible somewhat suspect. Then there was the U.S. freeze on Iranian assets, followed by U.S. Treasury Secretary Miller's tour last November warning the Gulf states against transferring assets out of U.S. banks. In fact, they have been stopped not by Miller's threats but by the incapacity of other banks to absorb such large deposits. But the lesson is very clear: it is better to put wealth in real estate—or leave it in the ground.

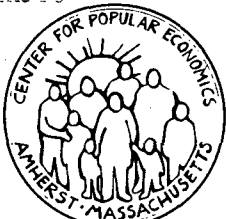
But most of all, until Israel has accepted definite boundaries and granted some sort of homeland to the Palestinians, any direct American military move in the region will inevitably be interpreted as support for "Zionist expansionism," rather than as an obstacle to "Soviet expansionism," which looks much more remote and hypothetical.

Thus the pressure is rising, not only in Arab states, not only in Europe, but also, inevitably, in the American ruling establishment, to make Israel compromise with the Palestinians. This is especially so since, compared to the religiously oriented revolutionary movements in Iran and Saudi Arabia, the PLO is a modern, nationalist movement that could provide a political link to the Western world. Palestinians are Arabs, but not particularly Islamic; there is a large Christian minority (which includes some of the most radical). The Palestinians are a relatively "westernized" elite in the region. The class composition of the PLO suggests that its radicalism is largely rhetorical, and that given a government, it would be "bourgeois nationalist." Europeans want to reward Arafat's moderation and make friends in a region where friends may soon prove hard to get.

The trend is unmistakable. A fortnight before Giscard's much more publicized statement, Irish foreign minister Brian Lenihan, on a visit to Qatar, went farther by specifying that the Palestinian right to self-determination should include "the right to an independent state" if they want one. Virtually all of Europe shares the French position for Palestinian self-determination "within the context of an overall peace settlement in the Middle East." This is fanfare leading up to the European Economic Community endorsement of Palestinian self-determination, probably with a role for the PLO, perhaps at the European summit in Venice next June. The EEC statement is being saved until after the May 23 deadline for implementing the Camp David agreement on Palestinian autonomy.

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The Budget

Continued from page 3.

tightening eligibility requirements will save another \$300 million.

Clearly, these are not simply symbolic actions aimed at restoring our country's faith in its leadership. These budget cuts are part of a calculated effort to cut political losses in this election year by loading the burden of austerity on those people who play the most marginal role in the political process. At one point in the Budget Committee debate, there was a vote to save \$250 million by eliminating the Legal Services Corporation, which provides legal assistance to the poor. During the debate, Representative William Brodhead of Michigan finally exploded. "Hell, anybody can vote for a cut in legal services for the poor. There's no political problem in voting to kick the hell out of poor people."

The Legal Services Corporation survived, by a 14-11 vote; but, like other social programs that have remained relatively intact, Legal Services still faces the possibility of being dismantled. All of these programs must run the gauntlet through the Senate Budget Committee, a House-Senate Conference Committee,

debate on the floor of both houses, and authorization and appropriations committees in each house. At any point in the process, particularly in what promises to be fevered floor debates, the ax could be unsheathed again.

In the Senate Budget Committee, which began its markup this week, domestic social spending must survive a proposal by William V. Roth (R-Del.) to require Congress to hold spending to within 21 percent of the Gross National Product, a proposal that Budget Committee chairman Edmund Muskie believes will require cutting total spending by \$45 billion and will "throw the country into havoc."

Inflation is "the cruelest tax of all," according to the president, "especially for the most disadvantaged." But that rhetoric has stopped neither the president nor the Congress from recommending that the most disadvantaged be forced to tighten their belts again, forego increased income benefits and job opportunities and weather both increased unemployment and decreased real income—both recession and inflation—as best they can.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.



BROUGHT TO YOU BY EXXON

AFTER READING PAT AUFDERHEIDE'S article on the "Made in U.S.A." project (ITT, March 5), I ran across the enclosed ad for "Free to Choose" in the *Denver Post*. You will note that this ad carries the corporate domination of PBS one step further by stating that the advertisement "is made possible by Hewlett-Packard Company." One wonders how long it will be before we're told that PBS, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the government are all made possible by a grant from the Exxon Corporation.

Keep up the fine work.

—Barry Roseman
Denver, Colo.

RAILROADS

MARK SCHAPIRO'S ARTICLE (ITT, March 12) is a revealing picture of "gone mad" leadership in our nation. As for railroads being subsidized by the government, the logic of a six-year-old would discern this as a better investment in national defense than the \$130 billions allotted the Pentagon.

—Cora G. Chase
Vaughn, Wash.

THANKS

AS SOUTHERN PACIFIC'S FIRST WHITE train porter, the namer of John Maybury's famous little *Amtrak Blues* newsletter, and, even now, a passenger rail supporter, I thank you for the article "The late train robbery." It's about time somebody other than just train buffs took notice.

I've been reading *IN THESE TIMES* on and off for about a year, borrowing copies from a friend and even buying my own now and then. But I think that this article marks the right time to subscribe. Enclosed is a check for six months of your beautiful newspaper.

—Ted Cuzzillo
San Francisco

AMTRAK

YOUR GROUP OF ARTICLES ON AMtrak and our transportation problems were quite good. But you put too much blame on the privates when Amtrak is just as much to blame as the railroads, and you attribute far too much responsibility to train dispatchers. It is true in train control system TCS or CTC territory the dispatcher controls

the signals and switches. But he or she takes orders from a chief dispatcher. In my experience on the Santa Fe, the dispatchers try to keep the passenger trains moving as best they can. To the best of my knowledge, there has been only one case where a dispatcher delayed a passenger train for a freight.

I am not disagreeing with your overall assessment of the Amtrak problem, but I am saying blame should be placed in the laps of the top officials of the railroads.

—Stephen C. Condit
Abilene, Kans.

UTILITY SHUTOFFS

THE ARTICLE ENTITLED "NEW Coalitions formed to fight utility shut-offs" by John Cameron and George Wood (ITT, March 5) failed to include Connecticut among the successes in limiting winter terminations of utility service. To our knowledge, Connecticut is the only state that has a statute prohibiting winter gas and electric shut-offs in hardship cases. Moreover, the Connecticut statute, unlike the termination regulations of many states, protects poor people from winter shutoffs based on their financial position. The statute also includes persons who are seriously ill, or whose household has a seriously ill member in the hardship category.

The Connecticut statute, adopted by the spring session of the 1979 legislature, was the result of a joint effort on the part of several advocate organizations and community groups.

The existence of Connecticut's statute is significant because the legislature took over a function that the state Division of Public Utility Control could exercise. The legislative mandate also increases the likelihood that winter shut-off protections will not be eliminated.

—Valerie J. Bryan
Staff Attorney, Connecticut
Department of Business Regulation

STEELWORKERS

DAVID MOBERG, IN HIS ARTICLE "Tough Talks in Steel" (ITT, Feb. 20), follows faulty premises to erroneous conclusions. First of all, the union's bargaining strategies do not depend on "corporate relations" as Moberg suggests. Steelworkers did not become the best paid industrial workers in North America by pandering to a corporate view of correct relations.

The Steelworkers have approached the 1980 negotiations with the same outlook it has always had—the determination to attend to the problems of the members and a willingness to listen to the problems of the industry. The union goes to the table with its own careful research of the industry.

The USWA's bargaining strategies have always been determined by its evaluation of the industry's long-term prospects and not so much by short-term circumstances. Future prospects for the industry are good.

Critics within the union, Moberg says, would insure job security by one of two means. First, by giving the industry technological freedom in return for lifetime jobs.

The industry has always had the freedom to introduce new technology. The major problem with the industry today is that it has not kept up technologically. In fact, the industry's major complaint is that it has not had the capital needed to keep up.

Second, says Moberg, "others seek greater public and worker control—at the federal level and at the level of community and the workers themselves—of management investment decisions."

The union has taken several measures to protect members from the calamity of plant shutdowns, including government and community involvement. At the table, the union is demanding early warning of contemplated plant closures along with an extension of lifetime job security. In Washington, the union is lobbying hard for legislation requiring a much greater degree of social responsibility on the part of corporate management in its consideration of investment priorities.

In earlier contracts, the union negotiated supplemental unemployment benefits for up to two years to cushion the economic effects of plant and department shutdowns. Still later, the union negotiated arrangements for members to retire early with full pensions and, in some circumstances, with \$300 per month in supplemental income until becoming eligible for Social Security benefits.

Coupled with these negotiated remedies, the union was one of the prime movers in the promotion of Trade Readjustment Assistance, which, in the event of shutdown because of imports, provides additional weekly benefits and retraining for affected employees. Beyond that, the union helped create the Steel Tripartite Committee and the Steel Committee of the OECD. The Steel Tripartite Committee, chaired by

under-secretaries of the departments of Labor and Commerce, was established to pool the efforts of the industry, the union and the government to solve problems confronting operational stability and employment security. The Steel Committee of the OECD was created to ease the restructuring of the international steel industry.

Thus, the union is positioned to attack the problems from three vantage points: through collective bargaining, legislatively, and internationally. The union will represent its members at all three levels and will expand these avenues during the decade.

Many writers and observers take a curious approach toward large industries as long as they operate in societies where capital formation, and not nationalization, is the key factor. Problems relating to trade, taxes and modernization are real and cannot be dismissed as just corporate propaganda. Only a strong and healthy industry can provide the kind of well-paying, secure jobs that our members are entitled to. Of course, the other side of that coin is that the union has to be strong to ensure that even a healthy industry does in fact provide such jobs. Paying attention to the health of the industry that employs its members is as important to a union of working people as are the twin duties of negotiating a contract and then seeing that it is administered properly.

—Lynn R. Williams
International Secretary
United Steelworkers of America
Pittsburgh

CALENDAR

You and your organization can use the *IN THESE TIMES* calendar to announce upcoming conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. An actual date is required in your announcement. The cost is \$10.00 for two insertions and \$5.00 for each additional insert. Unless it is requested otherwise, the announcement will appear in the two issues immediately prior to the event. Send copy (maximum 40 words) to: Bill Rehm, *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

April 4-5

Cities in Crisis; Urban Alternatives. URPE Midwest Regional Conference, at IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan, Indianapolis. Panels, films, slides, workshops. Fiscal crisis, "revitalization," socialist city, urban organizing. Keynote: Baldeemar Velazquez (FLOC), "Organizing the Unorganized." Write: Conference, c/o Pol. Sci. Dept., IUPUI; tel.: (317) 264-7387.

April 4-6

The Berkshire Forum opens a new season of **Weekend Vacation Workshops**, combining expertly led discussions with exhilarating rural holidays. Modern lodge, gorgeous setting, country meals and tennis. Call or write: (518)733-5497 Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168.

April 5-6

Celebrate **Passover-Seder** on April 5th at 6:00 p.m. and **Easter-Passover** on April 6th at 11:00 a.m. with **Rabbi Robert Marx**. The 3rd Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield at Fulton, Chicago, 626-9385. \$3.00 admission.

April 14-20

Palestinian Awareness Week, focussing on the economic, social and cultural aspects of the Palestinian Arab people. Participants include: Dr. Hetem I. Hussein, Prof. James Zogby, Prof. Elias Tuma and Mahmoud Darwish. Sponsored by the Stanford Workshop on Political and Social Issues. For more information call (415)328-8491 or 325-9793.

April 15

War or Peace: Where Are We Headed? A symposium that takes a look at our foreign policy in the Middle East and Central America and discusses alternatives. Speakers include: Professors Fred Warner Neal, Nikki Keddi, and Blase

Bonpane. Tuesday, Fairfax High School Auditorium, Los Angeles. Admission is free.

April 17

Celebrate **Big Business Day**. Activities across the country to expose corporate abuses and suggest humane alternatives. Trials of Big Business, Corporate Hall of Shame, Alternatives to Big Business Fair. Central event: National Convention, Union Station, Washington, D.C. Get involved.

San Francisco Big Business Day. High noon: First-ever *Public Board of Directors* meeting with management of Standard Oil. Assemble at 555 Market. 7:30—"Alternatives to Corporate Control" forum sponsored by DSOC, Women's Building, 3543 18th St. Further details: (415)431-3829.

April 18-20

The New School for Democratic Management will conduct **courses in business, financial and democratic organizational skills** at the Loudon Nelson Community Center in Santa Cruz. Courses include: financial management, democratic management and community economic development strategies. Fees are \$80.00 for one course and \$140.00 for two courses per student. Contact: Otter Enterprises, P.O. Box 2294, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, (408) 462-1344.

April 19

Richard Greenwood, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, will speak at the **11th Bucks County Peace Fair**. Also, Dr. Judy Johnsrud on nuclear power and waste. Music, booths and exhibits by 25 organizations—an outdoor family occasion. George School, Newtown, Pa. 11:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. \$1.00 parking donation. For information call: (215) 357-3857 or 968-3766.

April 25-27

13th Annual Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference, Portland, Oregon. Special guests: David Brody, Victor Reuther. For information contact: PNLHA, P.O. Box 25048, Northgate Station, Seattle, WA 98125.

April 26

March for Survival. Assemble at 10 a.m. in Union Square, San Francisco. March to Delores Park for 1:00 p.m. rally. Speakers are John George, Dennis Banks, Barbara Haber and Fernando Guerrero. Plus entertainment. Contributions invited—Volunteers needed. Contact Claire at 752-7766.

PERSPECTIVES

Carter is using starving people to aid Pol Pot

By Paul E. Shannon

LAST FALL THE LONG-DELAYED INTERNATIONAL AID EFFORT to Cambodia got underway. The delays over the summer were the result of conflicts in negotiations between the Heng Samrin government and international relief agencies (UNICEF) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which are connected to organizations that recognize the Pol Pot regime as the government of Cambodia. These international agencies sought, according to the British newspaper the *Guardian* (Sept. 25, 1979) "to structure aid to Cambodia

in such a way as to give minimum legitimacy to Heng Samrin and maximum help to Pol Pot...and to pursue the unrealistic aim of using an army of aid officials in Cambodia as a means of 'internationalizing' that country..." By agreeing that international agencies be permitted to supply aid to what is left of the Pol Pot forces, the Samrin government would be giving *de facto* recognition to the Pol Pot regime as being a legal entity in Cambodia and increase the ability of Pol Pot to conduct guerrilla attacks to disrupt attempts to normalize the life of the Cambodian people. Likewise, the food distribution-monitoring terms imposed on Samrin by the international agencies would have given these agencies tremendous power inside Cambodia. Meanwhile, no monitoring was required of aid going to Pol Pot. Food was merely dumped on the Thai border where Pol Pot soldiers have picked it up.

Oxfam and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) were more flexible in their negotiations with the Samrin government, with the result that their monitored aid program plans were quickly approved.

Finally, last fall, all four agencies (UNICEF, ICRC, Oxfam, and AFSC) had negotiated aid agreements with the Samrin government and aid began to flow into Phnom Penh. American attempts to discredit the Samrin government, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union began immediately. In October, three U.S. Senators came to Phnom Penh and presented a U.S. plan for aid to Cambodia—the famous "landbridge" from Thailand. The U.S. insistence on the land bridge, as opposed to other ways of getting aid to Cambodia, circumvented the agreements already established between the Samrin government and the international agencies. The U.S. was dictating the terms of aid.

The American press notwithstanding, Thailand is not neutral in this controversy. Its American-backed army controls the government; it serves as a rear base for Pol Pot and right-wing Cambodian guerrillas and it serves as a funnel for Chinese military aid to Pol Pot. The land-bridge plan, if accepted by the Samrin government, would send aid into Cambodia along routes chosen by the U.S.—through Thailand and areas hiding the remnants of the Pol Pot army.

Samrin rejected the plan as a violation of Cambodian sovereignty, saying that Cambodia would accept aid as negotiated with international agencies. President Carter, who already was blasting away at the Cambodians and Vietnamese before the rejection of the plan, condemned the Samrin government's negative response to the land-bridge as an indication that the regime was deliberately starving the Cambodians for political purposes.

The American press did its part. The *Boston Globe* (Nov. 27, 1979) claimed that the Vietnamese-supported Samrin government was holding the Cambodian

population hostage, and that only a dribble of food aid was being allowed to reach Cambodia as the new government blocked attempts by food agencies and generous governments around the world to get the food in. James Reston claimed in the *New York Times* (Nov. 4, 1979) that Moscow was refusing to help alleviate the famine in Cambodia.

But, in fact, large quantities of food were starting to get into Cambodia and to be distributed. Vietnam and Vietnamese soldiers were not stealing the food. UNICEF, ICRC, Oxfam and smaller agencies such as AFSC and Church

taking a cut in their own meagre food rations to enable deliveries to hungry Khmers.

But despite the fact that the food situation inside Kampuchea was beginning to improve, the Carter administration intensified its attacks on the Samrin government, Vietnam and, of course, the Soviet Union, well before the Soviet Union lurched into Afghanistan.

The new round of attacks was launched by the release of a CIA document dutifully reported by Reston in his Dec. 12 *New York Times* column entitled, "Is There No Pity?". Reston reported that the tragedy of Cambodia was a key factor in the deterioration of relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Reston and the CIA charged the Soviet Union with "blocking the distribution of food and medicine from other countries." They said that large amounts of food were reaching Cambodia, but were being diverted into the hands of "pro-Soviet Vietnamese" and the Heng Samrin military. Vietnam and Samrin were accused of collecting tariffs on foreign relief supplies and Vietnam was charged with preventing the harvest of grain by Cambodians. Reston pictures a powerless Carter, grieving for the starving Cambodians, desperately hoping Russia will drop its evil ways and let the Cambodians be fed. The *New York Times* editorially echoed these charges on Dec. 19.

Leo Cherne, chairman of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees, claimed that almost no Western food aid had been distributed in Cambodia by the end of November, and that "the Vietnamese government, with the concurrence and perhaps the encouragement of the Soviet Union, had adopted a conscious policy of withholding adequate relief from the Cambodian people" (*New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1979).

In fact, the situation in Kampuchea is

The government and media seek to undermine Heng Samrin and Vietnam with falsehood and food.

World Service (CWS) were getting food and medicine in by plane, by barges up the Mekong river, and by ship at the port of Kompong Som.

The American Friends Service Committee reported "relief agencies have been receiving excellent cooperation from Cambodian authorities..." (AFSC, Cambridge (Nov. 9, 1979). Jacques Danois, a UNICEF representative, reported Dec. 4 from Phnom Penh that food, medicines and other assistance was being freely distributed inside Kampuchea by the Vietnamese.

Jacques Beaumont, senior UNICEF representative, claimed that given the dire circumstances of the country, monitoring of relief shipments to Cambodia were in fact unusually complete and meticulous (AFSC, Cambridge, Nov. 9, 1979). Two Americans flew a DC-8 full of donated medicine and food directly into Phnom Penh over Thanksgiving (*Globe*, Dec. 8, 1979). They were made welcome and were asked to come back with more aid—which they have done. An Oxfam telex of Nov. 27, 1979, reported that Oxfam representatives in Phnom Penh said there was no evidence to support reports of Vietnamese misappropriations of aid.

Meanwhile, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe had been providing massive food aid to Cambodian civilians. Brian Eads, Bangkok correspondent for the *Toronto Star* (Nov. 4, 1979), reported: "That the Khmer population is not already dead is thanks only to Vietnam and its socialist bloc allies... notably Laos, the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and East Germany. A United Nations official said they say they've received more than 200,000 tons of food-stuffs from these countries. 'Those who doubt it should explain how the country has lived for nine months otherwise.'" Eads goes on to say that Vietnam has sistered its own provinces with those of Cambodia, with Vietnamese families

steadily improving. The UN Cambodia relief director, Henry Labouisse, immediately denied the allegations in the CIA's report, saying he had no knowledge of Soviet interference with relief deliveries and that food aid was piling up at the port of Kompong Som because of a lack of transport. He added that the Soviet Union was now supplying trucks for transport and helping unload shipments at Kompong Som. Concerning the collection of tariffs on relief shipments, Labouisse said that UN agencies had not paid any charges at wharfside and that an Oxfam shipment did pay a pilot's fee but that such a fee was standard practice.

Christian Science Monitor staff writer Richard Harley reports (Jan. 14) "international relief officials are more optimistic than ever that the tide is being turned on hunger in that war-torn country." Despite logjams, hundreds of tons of Western supplies are, in fact being distributed to the needy.

It takes a thief.

The U.S. accusing Cambodia and Vietnam of using food and starvation for crass political objectives is clearly the most blatant case imaginable of a thief crying "thief!" Widespread starvation in Cambodia did not start this past summer. U.S. B-52 carpet bombing of Cambodia up through the summer of 1973 and the full support of the Lon Nol regime after that were central factors in the destruction of the social infrastructure and cropland of the Cambodian countryside, causing millions of refugees to pour into city slums where they could get some food flown in by the U.S. and distributed with very political motives by the bizarre regime of Lon Nol. The dispatches of *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg in Phnom Penh during those long forgotten days portrayed the vast scale of the misery and malnutrition imposed by the U.S. initiated war on millions of peasants whom the gov-

ernment now claims to care so much about. Schanberg then described Cambodia as "a country of landless nomads with empty stomachs—human flotsam living amid damp and filth" (*New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1975).

Hidden purpose.

The real significance of the Carter propaganda campaign against the Samrin government is that it may pave the way for U.S. and Thai support for the promised Chinese invasion of Vietnam, and perhaps Indochina. Remember how phoney "communist atrocity" stories in the 1950s were used to manipulate our compassion and win us over to support intervention in Vietnam.

The food aid propaganda campaign has been a key piece of the Cold War mosaic being pieced together in American ruling circles. The Soviet Union is being emotionally targeted as the cause of the suffering of Cambodia. James Reston blasts the Soviets for "supporting Vietnam in its savage war against Cambodia in order to establish Soviet power in Southeast Asia..." One of the most influential foreign policy makers in the U.S., George Ball, declares that it is Moscow that stands behind Vietnamese aggression; and the Soviets may encourage its "caretaker government" to gobble up more real estate in Asia (*Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 1979). By distorting history and present day reality, Phnom Penh and Hanoi are portrayed as being nothing more than Moscow-in-disguise. And Moscow, of course, is the cause of all our problems around the world.

Now, according to numerous press reports, the place that Vietnam (the Soviet Union in disguise) may try to swallow up next is Thailand. The eminently rational and self-possessed George Ball breaks into muffled hysteria when he writes that if Vietnam conquers Thailand we might—in the worst possible case—see the following direct consequences: Japan would give up on U.S. strength and re-arm, acquiring nuclear weapons. Other Southeast Asian nations would accommodate themselves to the all-powerful Hanoi. America would lose its position in the Pacific. China, the Soviet Union and Japan would struggle for power. China would attack Vietnam. Russia would attack China. Russia would have Kim Il Sung try to take over South Korea. (*Washington Post*, Nov. 12, 1979).

This alleged threat to Thailand has been used to justify massive arms shipments to the oppressive Thai military as well as increased U.S. military services to the Thais. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has visited China to facilitate wider cooperation on security matters. American officials explaining Secretary Brown's goals claimed that "the Soviets have forced us and the Chinese into a posture in which we both see the world in the same way."

The U.S. is looking for some type of international solution that would install some government acceptable to the U.S. and China in Phnom Penh. Vietnam planning to invade Thailand is not the issue. It is Thailand, China, and the U.S. planning and supporting aggression against Cambodia.

In order to achieve its goals China may invade Vietnam or Laos under the pretense of defending Thailand and saving the starving Cambodians. The U.S. would help as much as it felt it could get away with domestically. After Iran, many more Americans favor the use of American troops abroad. As the new cold war develops, many more will. What better way to stop Russia than to fight Vietnam, the Russian puppets who dared to defeat us, who persecutes the boat people, and who starves the Cambodians?

To undermine the possibility of this scenario we must understand what is actually happening in Indochina and organize efforts to expose the manipulation and deception around the Cambodia food crisis, as well as the whole anti-Vietnam campaign, for the fraud that it is. A new policy of friendship toward the people of Indochina is in the best interests of our country. The truth out about Cambodia and Vietnam should show up the leaders in Washington as the deceivers that they are.

IN DEPTH

Carter-Reagan race can give Citizens Party space

By John Judis

LAST SUMMER, WHEN THE CITIZENS PARTY WAS LAUNCHED, it seemed like a good idea whose time had not come. But with President Jimmy Carter and former Governor Ronald Reagan the most likely presidential nominees, the prospects for a third party challenge have improved. The question is not so much whether the base for such a challenge exists, but whether the Citizens Party, organized largely outside major party circles, will be able to mobilize it. On April 10-12, the Citizens Party holds its founding convention in Cleveland.

Two hundred fifty delegates, drawn from 32 state caucuses and 3000 dues-paying members, will adopt a provisional party platform and a presidential/vice-presidential ticket—both to be ratified by the general membership. They will also continue a debate that has been brewing for the last two months over how much emphasis to give to the presidential race. The outcome of this debate, much more than the platform, will determine whether the Citizens Party has a chance to take advantage of the opportunities a Carter-Reagan race might provide in 1980.

Barry Commoner, the party's chief spokesman and probable presidential candidate, economist Jeff Faux, businessman Stanley Weiss, and members of the International Socialists have argued that the party should focus its efforts on the presidential race, beginning with the arduous task of securing ballot status for the party.

Commoner *et al.* conceive of the party playing a role similar to that of the pre-Civil War Republican Party. Like the Republican Party, it will be an instrument of political realignment. Just as the Republicans, by building a free soil/free labor coalition, broke through the Democratic-Whig stalemate, which had suppressed the issue of slavery, the Citizens Party, by focusing on corporate power and economic democracy, will break the Republican-Democratic stalemate, which is based on the suppression of the issue of capitalism.

Commoner *et al.*, in the words of one staff member, see 1980 as an opportunity to "reach out to a potential majoritarian constituency." This constituency would go well beyond the radical left. It could not be reached by local issue campaigns alone, or by demonstrations, but only by a major national effort, which promises a real alternative to the existing choices.

Commoner is most insistent in rejecting any conception of the party as a coalition of left groups or causes. "The purpose of the party is not to be an umbrella organization for the left," Commoner said in a phone interview. "We are a party contesting for political power. The way to do that is to find the basic issue that will reach not just organizations but the general public."

A permanent organization.

Lawyer Arthur Kinoy, who joined the Citizens Party last February, Marilyn Clement of the Center for Constitutional Rights, civil rights activist Lucius Walker, and several local party organizers have put forth a different view.

Kinoy, who spearheaded an unsuccessful effort to build a "mass party of the people," argues that the Citizens Party must become a "permanent political organization." The key to doing this, he argues, is to complement electoral activity with struggles over local issues. According to Kinoy, these struggles will make the general election platform "meaningful." They will also, Clement

stresses, attract to the party groups and constituencies—particularly minorities and feminists—who might otherwise "not touch Commoner with a ten-foot pole."

Kinoy *et al.* see the creation of such local activist chapters as the primary goal of the 1980 campaign. "I don't think the test will be the percentage of the vote we get," Kinoy said. "The test is the number of neighborhood and local organizations in place on Nov. 8 or 9."

These two perspectives might provide a healthy balance for the party. At its February executive council meeting, the party adopted two proposals from Kinoy *et al.*: one called for an affirmative action program within the Citizens Party designed to bring minorities into the all-white staff and the leadership; the other called for creating a Political Action Committee that would oversee local chapters' participation in struggles around such issues as nuclear power, abortion rights, and Puerto Rican independence.

On the face of it, these proposals could aid a political campaign. In the recent New York primary, Kennedy's identification with the fight against hospital closings undoubtedly helped his campaign in the black and Hispanic communities. And minority staff and leadership, as well as being desirable in themselves, are essential to winning minority support and endorsement.

But there are also possible drawbacks to the perspective put forth by Kinoy *et al.* The Kinoy emphasis on the party's working in and even leading local struggles—rather than securing the candidate's identification with them through statements and appearances—could detract from the party's having the time and knowledge to perform the mundane tasks necessary to a political campaign—getting petition signatures, canvassing, fundraising, scheduling, arranging events. As a plan for 1980, it seems to reflect a lack of experience with election campaigns. One Midwest organizer, who supports the Kinoy position, was not even familiar with his state's ballot access laws.

More generally, the approach of Kinoy *et al.* could keep the Citizens Party within the radical left ghetto from which it must emerge if it is to gain legitimacy with the public. As many local activists will attest, there is little need for another national organization to meddle in local struggles. The need is for an electoral organization capable of uniting the diverse concerns expressed by these struggles and groups into a larger, popular perspective. The party's *raison d'être* cannot be to provide picketers or demonstrators at this hospital closing or that trial. It must be to provide a national alternative to the Carters and the Reagans.

Links to Democrats.

The challenge posed by Kinoy *et al.* may succeed in blinding Citizens Party members to the actual weaknesses of the

Commoner approach. If Kennedy fails to capture the Democratic nomination—especially after making a strong showing—the most important obstacle to a left-wing third party effort would be eliminated, but there are other formidable obstacles the party must face.

To make a credible showing, a third party needs some combination of the following: either a well-known candidate (e.g. George Wallace, Eugene McCarthy) or an organized base of support (e.g. the labor movement, the black movement), funding sufficient to secure national media time, and a coterie of people with experience in running political campaigns. The Citizens Party has none of these. It will face an uphill battle even to get on the ballot in many states.

Here is where Commoner's analogy with the Republican Party's origins falls on its face: The Republican Party emerged as a coalition of dissident forces from the existing major parties. It was not organized or led by people who were marginal to the major political and legislative institutions of its day.

This does not necessarily make the Citizens Party cause hopeless. It could substantially improve its chances of survival and growth if it could join forces with defectors from the Democratic and Republican parties when, or if, Anderson, Brown and Kennedy all fail in their bids for nomination. These campaigns have already demonstrated collectively, if not individually, that a sizeable minority of voters oppose nuclear power, Cold War militarism, social spending cuts, and unbridled corporate power and support abortion rights, the ERA, national health insurance, wage-price-profits-rent control, and solar power.

The Citizens Party might attract a presidential or vice-presidential candidate from the upper ranks of these cam-

paigns. It certainly could attract the liberal and left-wing local officials, financial contributors, and political operatives who backed these candidates.

In New Hampshire, there was a close relationship between the Brown campaign and the Citizens Party. But from discussions with Citizens Party members on both sides of the Kinoy-Commoner debate, I found little evidence that the party is making other overtures to the Kennedy, Brown, and Anderson people.

While there is a justifiable fear of diluting the Citizens Party's principles—as would obviously occur if the Citizens Party joined an Anderson third-party effort—there is also a dogmatic aversion to Democrats. This has always been true of the International Socialists, who are an important part of the Commoner camp. And it is equally so among the more new left-oriented members.

Commoner himself admits that the party must attract "non-mainline Democrats who believe in the Democratic Party as a force for progress," but he insists that the party's main base will be among "people who don't vote."

To restate the problem: the Citizens Party was founded at a time when the Democratic left still looked as if it could have some impact in 1980 through the Kennedy campaign. Some Citizens Party members were counting on the failure of the Democratic left, but quite a few others are simply opposed to the Democratic Party as such and see liberals as class traitors or hypocrites.

The Citizens Party is now entering a period where the Democratic left's candidate might lose out, and where the opportunity would exist to transform its original narrow base. To do so might risk losing the central thrust of the party, but not to do so will risk a worse fate: continued marginality and irrelevance.

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ART >> ENTERTAINMENT

FOOTBALL

Raiders' move challenges NFL monopoly

By Alan Ramo

Football's Oakland Raiders, under the leadership of its owner Al Davis, are trying to do what most businesses take for granted. The Raiders want to pack up and go to greener pastures in search of greater profits, regardless of its impact upon the old home community. In this case, the Raiders have announced a new agreement to play in the Los Angeles Coliseum replacing the Rams who have now staked their claim in Anaheim.

But football is not like any other business. Like other professional sports leagues, the National Football League (NFL) for years has attempted to carve out a special place in the country's antitrust laws, which will allow it to carry on a virtually unregulated private monopoly.

The NFL's complaint with Al Davis is not that he wants to move his team. Moving teams in the chase for more profits is in the tradition of the NFL. What concerns the NFL is that Davis is moving the team in violation of several rules considered cen-

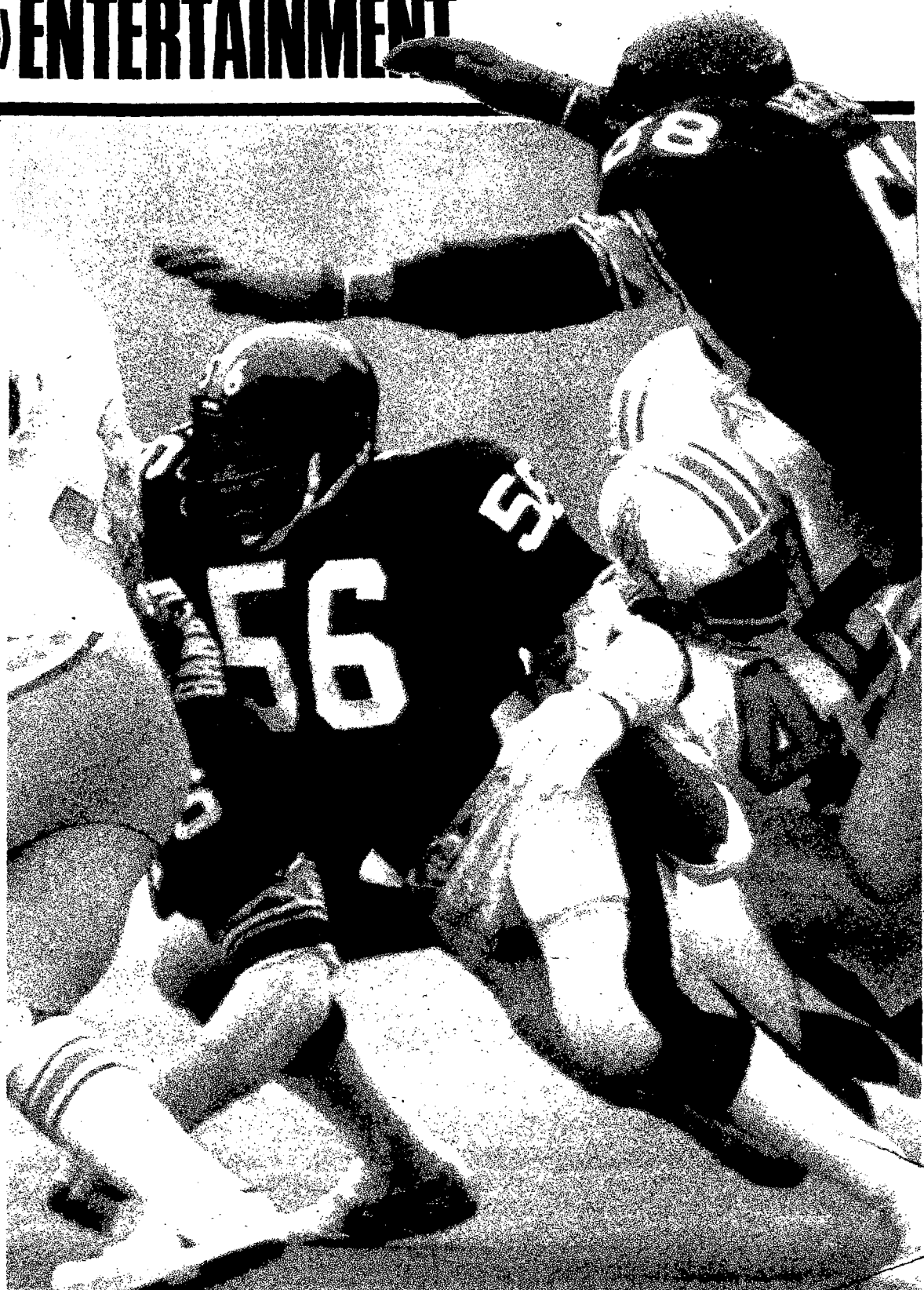
The NFL says its monopoly ensures a more evenly matched league.

tral to the maintenance of the league's monopoly position.

Davis apparently has violated Rule 4.3 of the NFL's by-laws, which says that a team cannot move a franchise unless it receives the approval of three-fourths of the league's owners. Rule 3.4 says a franchise allows an owner to operate only within a designated area, such as Oakland. Article 25, paragraph 3C of the NFL's by-laws requires that no change or amendment shall be made in regard to a team's operation without unanimous approval by the owners.

The law does not usually al-

Continued on next page.



BOOKS

New left meets Mark Twain in this new novel

By Gene Bell-Villada

DON'T MIND DYING: A Novel of Country Lust and Urban Decay

By Steve Chapple
Doubleday, \$10.00

It's summer of 198...; a former Wobbly named "Codger" Bill Lewis asks his dear old common-law wife to hitch with him to San Francisco, but Sarah Ma insists on staying in Montana for the good trout fishing that season. And so the lusty 77-year-old takes off for the Coast, the aim being to knock some sense into Jack Lewis, their sell-out of a son, a bland, smooth-tongued Teamster official who evades all pleas for labor solidarity. Adventures en route: Codger unintentionally bumps off the pet bulldog of Wyoming capitalist (hotels, electronics, cryogenics, tear gas) Armand Stuart, hitches a ride in Brooklynite Betty Sue Finkelstein's '54 Chevy, spirits and locks away a mendacious tour guide at Cripple Creek, enlightens tourists with a true account of labor struggles in that Colorado town, weeps wistfully at the remains of the Ludlow cemetery, gives an innocent Betty Sue a few history lessons, and Betty Sue gives him some lovin'. Hot on their trail is Armand Stuart's chief henchman, Sheriff Tracker Ron, a.k.a. "Nose,"

The Old Codger, an ex-Wobbly, finds adventure in San Francisco when he sets off to knock some sense into his Teamster official son.

which organ compensates for a "prehensile" brain and gets its cue from Codger's abandoned argyle socks.

Meanwhile, San Francisco is on the verge of a general strike, provided that the UAW wildcaters, black garbage workers, assorted white bigots, city craftsmen, hospital nurses and knee-jerk chauvinists can somehow get it together—a tall order to be sure, its problems compounded by the wiles of corrupt union boss T. Cripaldi and the metaphysical prattlings of Governor Jerry Green (sic). And who helps forge unity?...yes! the wise old radical. At first Codger tries persuading his younger host to join the fray, but Jack stands far to the Right of his old Dad; moreover, he nabs Codger and Betty Sue in a moment of high ecstasy, throwing them out into the chilly San Francisco night. Eventually Codger approaches a boxer-preacher named Muhammad Ali; they converse about politics, rice prices, and pugilism; Ali comes to the next strike meeting, where he makes an im-

pressive show of strength and extemporizes some witty radical verse.

Amid all this Sarah Ma shows up, seeking a General Strike but finding the classic Triangle instead. A sheepish Codger claims innocence; Sarah Ma and her 25-year-old rival have a tough and tearful, furiously funny woman-to-woman confrontation (with Sarah Ma owing up to Betty Sue about those four secret gents in her past). Upon this thickening plot the Sheriff also enters; lassoing Codger, dragging him to the ground, and galloping toward the Bay Bridge. And who should rescue the captive Codger but...yes! our two heroines. Sarah Ma vigorously casts her trout-fishing rod, hooks the Sheriff by the collar and nose, yanking him clear off his palomino. Betty Sue whacks him with a 2x4. They sink him into the Bay. Alas, Codger now gets blown to bits by a bomb planted at the strike-negotiating room—an act first attributed to the Pumphouse Gang terrorists, but traced by gumshoe Betty

Sue to an agent on retainer from that most vengeful of villains, Armand Stuart (he of the bulldog). The strike spreads; Codger Lewis places a credit-card call from Heaven, exhorting us to "chuck this book" and "Organize!" The End.

Steve Chapple shows an exuberant imagination and a first-rate ear for oral language. His prose is a delight; every page bristles with some new and untold verbal combination, and his descriptions are particularly striking ("a fried-egg sunrise"). Conceits and witticisms pile up by the paragraphs-full, and I must have chuckled at least a couple of dozen times. Though the author evinces a special gift for caricature, his humor has an intellectual and political precision seldom found in Vonnegut (whom Chapple superficially resembles). The many ribald episodes in *Don't Mind Dying*, while hardly aphrodisiac or even sexy, are genuinely amusing, without a trace of the locker-room leer to them. Mixing radical history, feminist notions, and Western Americana styles of delivery, it is as if the author had set out to fuse, say Mark Twain, John Nichols (of *The Milagro Beanfield War*) and modern cartoon techniques with the knowledge and concerns of the '60s New Left.

Nevertheless, Chapple's ag-

gressive insistence on his strengths tends to weaken his broader objectives. Those verbal pyrotechnics often obtrude on the plot, rendering it slow and murky. After page 90 one begins to wish for less flexing of the linguistic muscles and more real dancing, more direction and flow. Eventually the chapters come to feel like set-pieces, self-contained vignettes rather than portions of a whole.

As a result of such overload the action sequences lack focus, and the final impression is one of hastily-spliced ideas and many loose ends. The labor-struggle episodes fail to take on larger life—unlike the memorable strike scenes in Doctorow's *Ragtime*, Houston's *Bisbee '17*, and the both droll and terrifying United Fruit uprising in Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. Chapple should read a bit less labor history—he knows more than enough—and study more Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler.

Of course this is a first novel. One hopes that in his next novel, Steve Chapple will steer his talent toward a more coherent and sustained performance. ■
Gene Bell-Villada teaches Latin American literature at Williams College, and is author of the forthcoming *Borges and His Fiction: A Guide to His Mind and Art*.

Continued from previous page. low monopolies to control an industry without some kind of public regulation to protect the public interest. The law usually creates various regulatory agencies to guard against undue abuse by legal monopolies. The prime example is utility companies. Whether these oversight agencies succeed in protecting the public interest is another matter.

But professional sports for years has argued that it is entitled to an unregulated monopoly position. Baseball led the way in claiming that the anti-trust laws do not apply to sports. The courts usually agreed, basing their decisions first on the fiction that baseball did not involve interstate commerce and later on the notion that Congress did not intend to regulate baseball. Some courts openly argued that baseball as our national pastime is central to the spirit of our community life, especially for the young, and should be left alone.

Players and courts.

In the 1950s the Supreme Court began to chip away at this privileged position of sports. In a series of decisions, football, boxing, and other sports were included under the antitrust laws.

Only baseball was able to hold out, and it too could be subjected to regulation by Congress, according to the Supreme Court.

The battle to remove sports from its special status under the law was mainly fought by the players. Curt Flood in baseball and Joe Kapp in football lost years in playing time litigating the infamous reserve clause in court. Kapp eventually won the legal point in federal district court that the draft and other rules restricting free agent bargaining were illegal. But Kapp failed to win any damages in a jury trial and, like Flood, never returned to play major league ball.

Eventually the players turned from the courts to collective bargaining and their situation vastly improved. Catfish Hunter in baseball eventually won an arbitration declaring him a free agent, and the days of multi-year six figure contracts began. The NFL players made important gains limiting the effects of the draft and the so-called option rule.

But the NFL still seeks to maintain a monopoly domination over the sport. And this control applies not only to players but to individual owners.

The NFL in the Kapp case argued that they must maintain

discipline over players and individual owners for the good of football. Otherwise a multiplicity of teams would develop resulting in player raiding, cut-rate ticket pricing, and other competitive acts destructive to football. The result, according to the NFL, would be fewer teams dominated by wealthier franchises. The NFL pointed out that the public wants an evenly matched league and the only way to insure it is through a strong unified league with a monopoly position over the sport.

The NFL's logic may be correct. It still seems that certain teams with more capitalization dominate the leagues. In any event, the question still remains whether the leagues should be entitled to their privileged position without public regulation.

Do high ticket prices and season ticket sales serve the whole public? Are the schedules and TV coverage made with the public in mind as well as the teams? Do the teams' labor practices serve the interest of the public or the profits of the owners?

Currently, the Raiders are locked in a complex legal battle with the NFL and the city of Oakland. The city has even taken the unusual step of suing in eminent domain, arguing that the team is a property that

should be used for the benefit of the citizens of Oakland. Two Raiders' attempts to get the federal courts to take jurisdiction and bar the NFL and Oakland suits have met in failure.

Al Davis may not succeed in his drive for more profits, but he has succeeded in stripping the pretense surrounding the entire league. The result may be that

the public and the courts will deal with the league for what it is—a very profitable entertainment industry.

Alan Ramo is an Oakland attorney and has reported on legal affairs for KPFA (Pacifica-Berkeley), the Los Angeles Times and the Berkeley Independent and Gazette.

CULTURE SHOCK

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Tom Greensfelder



LIFE IS ART, OR SOMETHING

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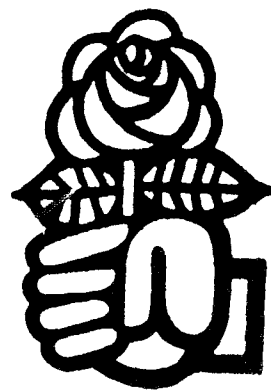
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DYING TESTIMONY

BY JON KALISH

Wearing his old Army jacket, dungarees and work boots, Charlie Hartz walked into the federal building in Philadelphia on the morning of Feb. 6 and made legal history. For several hours the 33-year-old Vietnam veteran testified about his exposure to the herbicide Agent Orange.

Hartz is the first of the terminally ill Vietnam vets to testify in a massive class action against the Dow Chemical Company and four other manufacturers of the controversial defoliant. Although a trial is at least months away in the unprecedented legal action, Hartz recorded his testimony on video tape because his lawyers are afraid he won't live to testify in person.

Hartz claims his brain cancer and the birth defects his two children have suffered were caused by Agent Orange.

He is one of the more than 2,000 plaintiffs in a suit that seeks the establishment of a trust fund financed by the chemical companies' earnings. The fund would be used to compensate Agent Orange victims—the vets, their wives and children.

The lawsuit was initiated in January 1979 by Long Island attorney Victor Yannacone, who spearheaded the legal battle against the pesticide DDT a decade ago. Yannacone estimates that as many as 50,000 Vietnam vets could join the suit. Recently more than a thousand Australian veterans of the war in Vietnam have joined the action. (A total of 40,000 Australians served in Vietnam during the war.)

So far U.S. District Court Judge George Pratt has ordered the federal government not to destroy any documents relating to the herbicide or the two-and-a-half million Americans who served in Vietnam. Pratt also ruled that his court does have jurisdiction to hear the case under the rules of federal common law. The chemical companies argued that there was no compelling federal interest in the case and that the veterans should seek relief in the state courts individually.

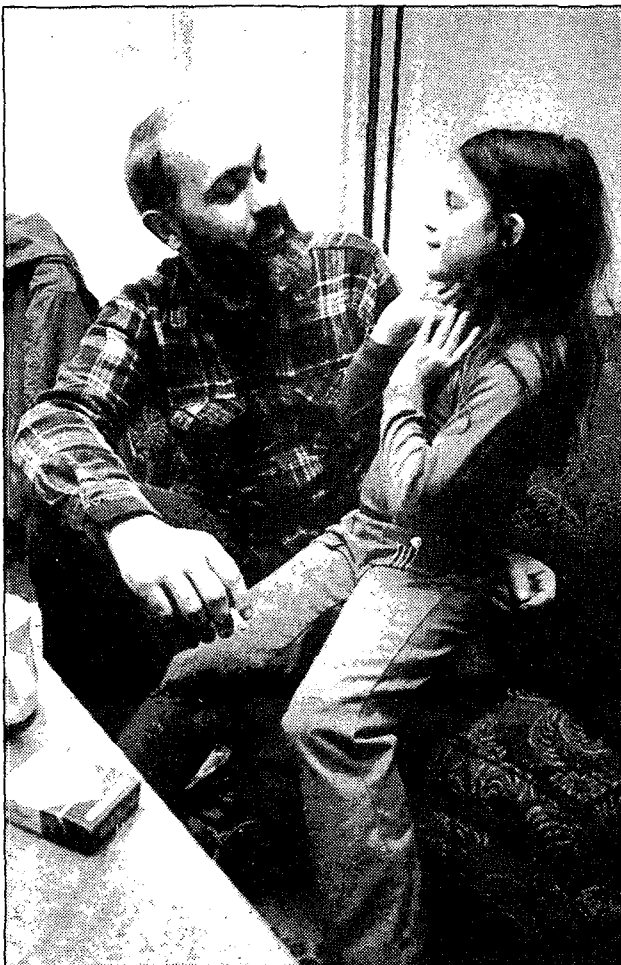
Pratt must next decide whether the veterans and their families constitute a class. Once the court certifies them as a class, a trial on the issue of causality could begin. Lawyers for the plaintiffs expect a trial could begin by the end of this year.

In related developments the Environmental Protection Agency will begin hearings shortly on whether to impose a complete ban on the herbicide 2,4,5-T, which was one of the components of Agent Orange. 2,4,5-T is still being used on rice and soybean crops as well as grazing lands for cattle.

Hartz's day in court began at 10:30 a.m. with a bang. Defense lawyers objected strenuously to the presence of Frank McCarthy in the studio. McCarthy is the head of Agent Orange Victims International. He was there to help Hartz in and out of the building...and for "moral support." McCarthy stayed for the first half of the taping but was not allowed back after lunch. The defense was also furious about a Philadelphia newspaper photographer who walked into the studio before the taping started and took pictures of Hartz. The defense lawyers called marshalls and eventually the photographer agreed not to use the pictures.

Shortly before 4:00 p.m. the door to the studio opened and Hartz' lawyer Hy Mayerson walked out. Then the chemical company lawyers left, all refusing to talk about the deposition.

Charlie Hartz was an incredible soldier. He served in an elite unit of paratroopers called Tiger Force. He was wounded twice and decorated for valor. His



This Vietnam vet's videotaped evidence will live after him. It may help to win health benefits for his family and thousands of others poisoned by dioxin.

lawyer says he was one of the first soldiers to enter areas after they had been defoliated, seeking out and confronting enemy forces.

While he was in Vietnam, he says, he was convinced he wouldn't die there.

"There's only two things between you and your enemy," he used to say. "Fear and atmosphere."

Like other vets, Hartz didn't learn that Agent Orange was contaminated with dioxin until he got out of Vietnam. He didn't know that dioxin can cause everything from chloracne (a skin rash) to cancer, as well as birth defects and miscarriages.

Hartz and his family left their cozy yellow brick house in Spring City, Pa., the day after the video disposition was recorded. They bought a new one in Alabama. Charlie didn't want to move but he said he just couldn't take the cold weather anymore.

Charlie hasn't been the same since surgeons removed what they hoped was the entire tumor. Later they found an area of cancerous cells about the size of a sausage. The doctors proposed more surgery

but Hartz refused.

"They couldn't even guarantee that I'd live through the operation," he said. "I would have been nothing and, personally, I'd rather die than live like a vegetable."

Hartz continues to suffer painful seizures. Some nights find him so weak he has to crawl up to bed. Radiation treatments have caused much of his hair to fall out. But Hartz is still a tall, powerful looking soldier.

"I'm not happy that I have terminal cancer," he said. "I've got it. I've got to live with it...or try to live with it. It's kind of hard. A lot of us guys who were airborne were kind of macho. We think we can do things for ourselves, and now we're finding out that suddenly you need help."

Charlie Hartz is not just worrying about himself. He and his wife Judy have four children, including twins that almost died after they were born. The twins suffered from heart and lung disorders and meningitis and hydrocephalus. The two have recovered, but one has a special tube inside her that vents fluid from her brain. She would die without it. Their youngest child had a very difficult birth, but recovered soon afterwards.

At first, Hartz didn't connect the family's medical problems with his exposure to Agent Orange. Then he ran into Hy Mayerson, a local attorney. Mayerson helped him get permission from a court to smoke marijuana for his pain. Marijuana provided Hartz with a considerable amount of relief from his severe headaches and nausea.

Mayerson had already signed up two other Vietnam vets for the Agent Orange class action started by Yannacone. Hartz joined the suit in September 1979 and soon thereafter his lawyers asked U.S. District Judge George Pratt in Westbury, Long Island, for permission to videotape Hartz' deposition. The chemical companies opposed the request because it was costly and "unnecessarily showy." Judge Pratt ruled that videotape rather than a typed transcript was the best way of preserving Hartz' testimony.

Hartz said the Army never warned him about Agent Orange. He remembers what it smelled like, what it looked like. He remembers having to mix Kool-Aid with his water in order to drink it. The water tasted terrible, he said. Hartz also recalls that several men were stricken with "fevers of unknown origin." They were evacuated to the rear and listed as FUO.

"They just couldn't tell us why we were sick," he said.

Charlie feels that the American military is not responsible for the Agent Orange nightmare. He thinks the chemical companies are the culprits. "If they had the technology to produce it, then they had the technology to test it," he said.

The manufacturers have turned around and sued the government for not warning military personnel about the hazards of Agent Orange.

"What they're trying to do is pass the buck. They're trying to say, 'It's not our fault. The government made us make it.'"

"There's no doubt in my mind that the chemical companies made big money producing Agent Orange for the government."

"Charlie Hartz is one of the strongest and most driven human beings I've ever met," says Hy Mayerson. "Everyone knows what the chemical companies did. Vietnam veterans are literally standing in line dying. Charlie Hartz is the first one they have to face. He's the first in the parade."

Jon Kalish has been covering the Agent Orange lawsuit for WBAI-FM in New York.